DR. KWAME NKRUMAH, PRESIDENT AND HEAD OF THE REPUBLIC OF GHANA, ARRIVES IN MOSCOW

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, President and Head of the Government of the Republic of Ghana, outstanding statesman and public figure, arrived in Moscow on July 10, at the invitation of N.S. Khrushchov, Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers, as the official guest of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet and Council of Ministers.

The Vnukovo airport was festively decorated. A streamer on the facade of the airport building read--"Welcome President Kwame Nkrumah!", there were portraits of Kwame Nkrumah, N.S. Khrushchov and L.I. Brezhnev and on the masts fluttered the state flags of the African and Soviet states.

Dr. Kwame Nkrumah was met at the airport by N.S. Khrushchov, L.I. Brezhnev, A.I. Mikoyan, Y.A. Furtseva, Vice Chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers V.N. Novikov, and other officials.

At the airport Dr. Kwame Nkrumah and L.I. Brezhnev exchanged speeches.

Speech by L. I. Brezhnev

Highly esteemed Mr. President,

Dear guests from friendly Ghana,

Comrades,

Allow me, on behalf of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, the Soviet Government, the Soviet people and on my own behalf to heartily welcome, you Mr. President and those accompanying you, to the capital of the Soviet Union, Moscow.

We are very happy that one of the leaders of new Africa, President of the independent Republic of Ghana, our esteemed friend Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, and his colleagues, have come to our country.

We welcome you as representatives of the freedomloving African country with which firm friendship and close cooperation are successfully developing, as representatives of a people actively fighting for the complete eradication of colonialism, for the consolidation of peace and friendship among all the peoples.

We know quite well that Ghana is a country greatly interested in the preservation of universal peace and that its leaders are fully determined to contribute to this great cause.

The Soviet people follow with deep sympathy the construction of a new life in Ghana and rejoice in the achievements your Republic has scored. The example of Ghana vividly shows what tremendous successes can be achieved by a people who have taken to the path of independent development.

I vividly recall my recent visit to your sunny country and the moving manifestation of friendship shown by the people of Ghana towards the Soviet Union, towards our people, the Government of our country and its head Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchov. I do not doubt, dear friends, that you too will be heartily received by the Soviet people.

This is your first visit to this country, Mr President, and it is our dearest wish that you and your party see the life of the Soviet people, the peaceful construction that is going on everywhere in the cities and villages, in the North, South, East and West of our vast country.

You will find in the Soviet country sincere and true friends of the independent, freedomloving Ghana, and you will see for yourselves the friendly feelings our people entertain towards the people of Africa.

Permit me to express the hope that your tour of the U.S.S.R. will be interesting and full of impressions, that your stay will be pleasant and useful.

We, on our part, are sure that the visit of the distinguished guests from Ghana will help to further strengthen Soviet-Ghanaian friendship.

Welcome, Mr. President!

Welcome, dear guests!

Speech by Kwame Nkrumah

Dear friends from the Soviet Union!

I wish to thank you most sincerely for the very kind words you have just said and for the wonderful reception accorded me on my first visit to the Soviet Union

It is indeed a great pleasure for us to be here. We have brought you and all the peoples of the Soviet Union warm, fraternal greetings of the people of the Republic of Ghana.

JOINT SOVIET-KOREAN COMMUNIQUE

A party and government delegation of the Korean People's Democratic Republic, headed by the Chairman of the Central Committee of the Korean Party of Labour and Chairman of the Cabinet of Ministers of the K.P.D.R., Comrade Kim Il Sung, stayed in the Soviet Union, on a visit of friendship, between June 29 and July 10, 1961, at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R.

During their stay in the Soviet Union, the party and government delegation of the K.P.D.R. visited Moscow, Kiev and Irkutsk and paid visits to a number of industrial establishments, collective farms, cultural and educational institutions, and the Bratsk Hydropower Project. Everywhere the envoys of the fraternal Korean people were given a warm, cordial welcome by the working people of the Soviet Union which testified to the heartfelt sentiments of friendship and the great sympathy which the Soviet people have for the Korean People's Democratic Republic, the Korean people and its leaders.

During the stay of the party and government delegation of the K.P.D.R. in Moscow talks were held between the party and government leaders of the two countries.

Taking part in the talks on the Soviet side were the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. N.S. Khrushchov, Member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and Secretary of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. F.R.Kozlov, Member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and First Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. A.N.Kosygin, and also the Vice-Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R. and Chairman of the State Planning Committee of the U.S.S.R. V.N.Novikov, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. A.A.Gromyko, Marshal of the Soviet Union M.V.Zakharov, the First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. V.V.Kuznetsov, the Chief of a Department at the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. Y.V.Andropov, the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the U.S.S.R. to the K.P.D.R. A.M.Puzanov, Member of the Collegium of the Foreign Ministry of the U.S.S.R. I.I.Tugarinov.

Taking part in the talks on the Korean side were the Chairman of the Central Committee of the Korean Party of Labour and Chairman of the Cabinet of Ministers of the K.P.D.R. Kim Il Sung, Member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Korean Party of Labour and Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Korean Party of Labour Kim Chan Man, Member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Korean Party of Labour, Vice-Chairman of the Cabinet of Ministers of the K.P.D.R. and Minister of National Defence Kim Kwan Heb, Alternate Member of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Korean Party of Labour, Vice-Chairman of the Cabinet of

Ministers of the K.P.D.R. and Chairman of the Heavy Industry Committee Li Den Ok, the minister of Foreign Affairs of the K.P.D.R. Pak Sen Chen, and the Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the K.P.D.R. to the U.S.S.R. Li Son Un.

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In the course of the talks, held in an atmosphere of cordiality and unanimity, the two sides had a comprehensive and frank exchange of opinions on questions of the strengthening and further development of the friendly relations and cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Korean People's Democratic Republic, and also on topical international problems of interest to both sides. The talks confirmed anew the identity of views on all the questions discussed and the inviolability of the alliance between the U.S.S.R. and the Korean People's Democratic Republic which is founded on the immutable principles of socialist internationalism, mutual assistance and equality.

Both sides reaffirmed their unanimous striving toward the further extension of the successfully developing comprehensive contacts and close cooperation between the U.S.S.R. and the K.P.D.R. which fully accord with the vital interests of the peoples of both countries and contribute to the strengthening of peace and security in the Far East.

The sides informed each other of the measures taken by them toward the continuous development of the national economy, toward raising the material standards of the working people, toward the scientific and cultural progress of both countries.

The Korean side noted the tremendous achievements scored by the Soviet people in the all-out building of communism under the tested leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Seven-Year Plan for the development of the national economy of the U.S.S.R., which is the decisive stage in the realization of the history-making task of building in the U.S.S.R. the material and technical basis of communism, is being successfully fulfilled.

The industry and agriculture of the U.S.S.R. are on a new upswing, and the material and cultural standards of the Soviet people are improving steadily. The great achievements of Soviet science and technology, which found a vivid expression in the flight of a Soviet man into space, have opened up a new era of the conquest of space and demonstrated the inexhaustible vital force of the socialist system. The Soviet people have rallied closely around the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its Central Committee and now display even greater labour enthusiasm and creative activity in advancing toward the 22nd Congress of the Party. The successful building of communism in the U.S.S.R. further strengthens the might of the socialist camp and inspires the peoples of all countries to struggle for peace, national independence and socialism.

I also wish to thank you and the Soviet people for the invitation to visit your great country. I impatiently awaited my trip here and the chance of resuming our friendly meetings, of meeting the people of the Soviet Union for the first time, and also of seeing with my own eyes the great achievements of the Soviet people of which we have heard so much and which are the glorious result of the Communist revolution and reconstruction.

It was a great pleasure for the government and people of Ghana to receive Mr. Brezhnev, President of the Soviet Union, in Ghana where he stayed several days. We preserve fine reminiscences of his visit.

I also recall with pleasure my meeting with Mr. Khrushchov in New York and the most heartfelt and friendly talks we had.

I fervently hope that my visit will not only consolidate still further the cordial relations established between our two countries, but also substantially strengthen our resolve to rout imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism in Africa and will facilitate the further difficult, but victorious advance of the African peoples toward their goal, namely, to complete political and economic liberation and African unity, i.e., political and economic unification of the African continent.

I am confident that my visit to the Soviet Union will undoubtedly lead to the establishment of better understanding and consolidation of friendship between the people of Ghana and the people of the Soviet Union.

I thank you once again for your warm reception.

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The speeches by L.I. Brezhnev and Kwame Nkrumah were listened to with great attention and repeatedly interrupted by applause.

The distinguished guest, together with N.S. Khrushchov and L.I. Brezhnev drove off in an open car to the city...

Tens of thousands of Muscovites filled the streets and squares to greet the President and head of the government of the Republic of Ghana. As the motorcade proceeded along Lenin Prospekt cries rang out in honour of Soviet-Ghanaian friendship, the distinguished guest, and the Soviet leaders.

(Pravda. Speeches in full.)

The Soviet side noted that the working class, the labouring peasantry and the intelligentsia of the K.P.D.R. led by the Korean Party of Labour which is consistently implementing the Leninist principles of the socialist management of economy, have in a short time scored outstanding successes, converting their country into an independent industrial-agrarian socialist state which is growing stronger all the time.

The Korean People's Democratic Republic rapidly and completely rehabilitated the national economy ravaged by imperialist interventionists and then far surpassed the prewar level of industrial and agricultural production. Great successes have been scored in the fields of public education, culture, the arts and public health. Free seven-year schooling and free medical services for the population have been introduced in towns and villages throughout the country.

As a result of the completion of socialist reforms, the socialist relations of production, opening up unlimited prospects for the development of productive forces in the country, have won completely in all branches of the national economy of the K.P.D.R. The working class of the K.P.D.R. has grown considerably, national cadres of specialists have been prepared and a new socialist intelligentsia has been reared.

The high rates of economic and cultural development typical of the K.P.D.R. speak of the undeniable superiority of the socialist system established in North Korea and the correctness of the policy of the Korean Party of Labour. They have become possible thanks to the dedicated labour of the Korean people and the utmost possible international mutual assistance of the socialist countries.

In the course of meetings and conversations, opinions were exchanged on questions of the further extension of economic cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Korean People's Democratic Republic.

The two sides considered the progress in the fulfilment of the long-term agreement on reciprocal commodity deliveries and the agreement on Soviet technical assistance in 1961-1967 for the further development of the national economy of the K.P.D.R., signed at the end of last year. They expressed complete satisfaction with progress in the fulfilment of the concluded agreements. The sides also reached agreement on further steps toward the strengthening of close economic ties between the two states.

As a result of the discussion of questions concerning economic and technical cooperation, an agreement was signed

between the Government of the U.S.S.R. and the Government of the K.P.D.R. on Soviet technical assistance for the further development of the national economy of the K.P.D.R. Under this agreement the Soviet Union will render additional economic and technical assistance to the K.P.D.R. in the development of the metallurgical and mining industries. The Soviet side agreed to speed up the deliveries of equipment for the thermal power stations which are being built with Soviet technical assistance, and also to help in the construction of a television centre.

In response to a request of the Government of the K.P.D.R., the Government of the U.S.S.R. extended to the Korean People's Democratic Republic a long-term credit, on favourable terms, to cover the expenditures of Soviet organizations in the provision of the technical assistance envisaged in the aforesaid agreement.

An agreement was also signed on the additional deliveries of certain commodities to the K.P.D.R. from the U.S.S.R. in 1962-1965 for the development of the chemical industry of the K.P.D.R.

While the K.P.D.R. is on a sharp upswing, while her economy and culture are flourishing and democracy is developing in South Korea where an antipopular regime has been established as a result of American occupation there are economic dislocation, poverty of the masses, which have no rights, and a rule of military and police terror. The recent events in South Korea were especially convincing evidence that in its efforts to suppress the indignation of the people of South Korea, its striving for freedom and national welfare, the forces of reaction have taken to the road of open military-fascist dictatorship which leads to an aggravation of tension in Korea and raises additional obstacles to the country's reunification along peaceful democratic lines.

The Soviet people sympathize deeply with the Korean people in the tragedy of the division of their country and the occupation of her southern part by foreign troops. The Soviet Union has unswervingly advocated the earliest possible restoration of Korea's national unity in accordance with the will and the interests of the Korean people.

The Soviet Union and the Korean People's Democratic Republic hold that the peaceful reunification of Korea is above all a matter for the Korean people itself, and that solution of general Korean problems is only possible through negotiations between representatives of North and South Korea.

The Soviet Side attaches great importance to the proposal of the Government of the KPDR. for the establishment of a confederation of North and South Korea. In conditions where the South Korean authorities do not agree to the holding of democratic all-korean elections without foreign interference, realization of the idea of a confederation provides the shortest and most reliable way to the reunification of the country. Realization of this task is also served by such steps of the Government of the KPDR. as its proposals for trade between the North and the South, the organization of economic and cultural cooperation, and the reduction of armed forces in both parts of the country.

The Soviet side welcomes the continuous efforts of the Government of the K.P.D.R. towards the strengthening of peace in Korea and rapprochement between the North and the South in the interests of the earliest restoration of the national unity of the Korean people. The peaceful policy of the Korean People's Democratic Republic, along with her economic and other successes, strengthens the international authority of the K.P.D.R. and wins her the sympathy of the peaceloving states.

The Soviet Union resolutely supports the Korean people's just demands for the withdrawal of American troops from the territory of South Korea. The occupation of South Korea by American imperialists is today the main obstacle to the peaceful settlement of the Korean question. The refusal of the U.S. to clear the Korean soil of its troops and military bases, its opposition to agreement between the North and the South, and the continuous activities of American military towards the further strengthening of their military bases and the introduction of mass destruction weapons there, in violation of the armistice agreement -- all this shows that the American imperialists and their placemen have not abandoned their intentions of extending the colonial rule to the whole of the Korean Peninsula. They ought to know that such plans are doomed to failure. The fraternal solidarity of the Soviet Union and the K.P.D.R., the joint forces of the socialist camp reliably safeguard the Korean People's Democratic Republic, as indeed any other socialist Country, against encroachment on the part of imperialist aggressors. The Korean People's Democratic Republic is developing and gaining in strength within the fraternal community of socialist nations, embodying the hopes of the Korean people for the realization of its legitimate national aspirations.

For the further development and strengthening of the friendly relations between the two countries, for supporting and consolidating peace and security in the Far East and throughout the world, the Soviet Union and the Korean People's Democratic Republic have concluded a Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance. This treaty conforms not only to the vital interests of the two states, unswervingly following a policy of peace and friendship among nations, but also to the interests of all peaceloving states, the interests of the relaxation of international tension.

The Government of the K.P.D.R. solemnly declared that in signing the aforesaid Treaty it proceeded from the assumption

Both sides note with great satisfaction that as a result of the Moscow Meeting of Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties in 1960 the fraternal parties and the entire socialist camp rallied even closer under the banner of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism, and the solidarity of the international workers' movement strengthened.

The Korean Party of Labour has always held that the C.P.S.U. is the universally recognized vanguard of the world communist movement and that the rich experience amassed by the C.P.S.U. in accomplishing the socialist revolution, in the building of socialism and communism is an example to it.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Korean Party of Labour consider it their prime task to work resolutely for the further strengthening of the unity and cohesion of the countries of the socialist camp, for the militant unity of the international communist movement on the immutable foundation of Marxism-Leninism, and constantly to educate the working people of their countries in the spirit of international solidarity. They will remain intolerant, in the Leninist way, of any and all manifestations of revisionism, dogmatism, sectarianism, backsliding from the principles of socialist internationalism.

The representatives of both Parties note with satisfaction that the fraternal cooperation between the two Parties has been further strengthened and extended, that mutual information and exchanges of opinion on questions of interest to both Parties are being effected.

The talks have shown that the C.P.S.U. and the K.P.L. are resolved to continue to strengthen and extend the friendly ties existing between them.

Both sides express their conviction that the visit of the Party and Government Delegation of the K.P.D.R. will serve further to deepen the friendly fraternal ties and cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Korean People's Democratic Republic; to strengthen the unity and cohesion of the great and mighty family of the socialist states, to strengthen universal peace.

N.S.Khrushchov,
First Secretary of the
C.C. C.P.S.U., Chairman
of the Council of
Ministers of the U.S.S.R.

Kim Il Sung,
Chairman of the C.C. K.P.L.,
Chairman of the Cabinet of
Ministers of the K.P.D.R.

(Pravda, Izvestia. In full.)

that upon the country's reunification along peaceful democratic lines, the whole of Korea would be free of commitments assumed by either side under the military and political treaties and agreements concluded prior to her reunification. And the military and political treaties concluded by South Korea with the United States should, naturally, become invalid too.

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In exchanging opinions on questions of the obtaining international situation, both sides noted that the world socialist system is now on a steep upswing. The national economy of the socialist countries is developing rapidly.

The Soviet Union and the K.P.D.R., like all the other socialist states, are fighting consistently to avert the threat of a new war and to ensure the peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems.

Comrade N.S.Khrushchov informed the Korean side of his meeting with the President of the United States J.Kennedy. The Korean side expressed complete support for the peaceful policy of the Soviet Union designed to strengthen peace and relax international tensions, and declared that the K.P.D.R. welcomed and approved the Soviet Union's position on the question of the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany and the solution on this basis of the question of West Berlin, and also on the other questions discussed during the Vienna Meeting of N.S.Khrushchov and J.Kennedy.

Both sides stressed the need for further efforts towards the solution of ripe international problems and above all the problems of general and complete disarmament and the termination of the intrigues of the imperialist powers against the sovereignty and independence of the freedomloving states.

Both sides reaffirm that struggle against colonialism in all its forms and every support to the national liberation movement of the oppressed peoples are one of the main principles of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the Korean People's Democratic Republic. They denounce the intervention of the imperialist powers in the Congo, covered by the United Nations flag, and the colonialist wars in Algeria, Angola and other countries which still have not freed themselves of colonial slavery.

Both sides declare their solidarity with the heroic Cuban people upholding the sacred and just cause of freedom and national independence.

A serious threat to peace is posed by the activities of the military and political bloc of SEATO, built up by the efforts of American imperialists and serving as a tool of imperialist aggression in South East Asia. The armed interference of the U.S. and other SEATO countries in the internal affairs of Laos brought about a dangerous aggravation of the situation in the area. Both sides consider that this interference must be stopped completely so that Laos could develop freely as an independent state in accordance with its proclaimed program of peace, neutrality and national unity.

The Soviet Union and the Korean People's Democratic Republic strongly denounce the U.S. ruler's hostile policy toward the great socialist power in Asia--the People's Republic of China. The efforts of the U.S. ruling circles to prejudice the sovereignty and legitimate rights of People's China, the American aggression against the ancient Chinese territory of the island of Taiwan and the off-shore islands are an open challenge to the cause of peace and one of the main sources of dangerous tension in the Far East. Such attempts are inevitably doomed to failure. The Soviet Union and the K.P.D.R. fully and completely support the demand of the P.R.C. that the U.S. should abandon this aggressive policy fraught with grave consequences for peace.

The Soviet Union and the K.P.D.R. cannot remain indifferent to the fact of the occupation of Japan by American troops, or to the military collusion between the ruling circles of the U.S. and Japan spearheaded against neighbouring states. Both sides consider that the aggressive American-Japanese treaty concluded in 1960 was a step toward further aggravating the situation in the Far East. The security of Japan herself, as well as the interests of peace in the Far East, imperiously demand that Japan break the bonds of foreign occupation and take to the road of liquidating foreign military bases on her territory, the road of genuine national independence and a peaceful foreign policy.

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During the stay of the Party and Government Delegation of the K.P.D.R. in Moscow, opinions were exchanged on questions of the activities of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Korean Party of Labour, the relations between them, and also on questions of the international communist movement. The talks revealed a complete identity of views of the leaders of the C.P.S.U. and the K.P.L. on all the questions discussed.

SPEECH BY N.S. KHRUSHCHOV AT THE MEETING OF REPRESENTATIVES OF MOSCOW PUBLIC TO MARK THE 20th ANNIVERSARY OF THE BEGINNING OF THE GREAT PATRIOTIC WAR

Dear comrades.

Twenty years have elapsed since the day when fascist Germany perfidiously, without a declaration of war, attacked the Soviet Union, interrupted the peaceful labour of the Soviet people and thrust a difficult, devastating war upon us.

The entire Soviet people rose in defence of their great homeland, in defence of the achievements of socialism. A sacred, people's war against the nazi invasion began. The gigantic forces, the unbending will of the Soviet people, closely rallied behind their own Communist Party, became manifest in all their greatness during this war. (Stormy, prolonged applause)

The Minister of Defence, Marshal of the Soviet Union Comrade Malinovsky Rodion Yakovlevich in his report and other comrades who spoke here found fine words to describe the immortal exploit of the Soviet People, of our gallant armed forces in the Patriotic War. We again and again turn to the events of World War II because the war itself and the period preceding it enable the peoples to derive highly instructive lessons.

Way back, at the time when Hitler, the German fascists were striving to seize power, our Party and the Soviet Government resolutely exposed the predatory nature of fascism, warned the peoples of the danger threatening them. The Soviet Union was the only state which tirelessly called for curbing fascism, for preventing it from unleasning another world war. The voice of Soviet representatives rang out loud in the League of Nations, and at antiwar congresses, persistently urging a rebuff to fascism, unity for the struggle against the approaching disaster of war. The Soviet Government suggested concrete measures for safeguarding the security of peoples. It submitted to the League of Nations a proposal for general and complete disarmament, offered a collective security system which, if accepted, would have tied the hands of the fascist aggressors.

When direct danger of war confronted the world, the Soviet Government addressed France with a proposal to come out jointly against Hitler Germany in defence of Czechoslovakia. We also tried to reach agreement for the bourgeois governments of Poland and Rumania to let our troops cross their territories to help Czechoslovakia.

But the ruling quarters of the bourgeois states, blinded by hatred for our socialist country and afraid of the world revolutionary movement, did not accept any one of the Soviet Government's proposals though their advisability was obvious for all.

The entire pre-history of World War II is a disgraceful chapter in the policy of the so-called western democracies. The ruling quarters of Britain, France, Poland and other states did not balk at betraying the national interests of their peoples. Mankind will never forget the disgraceful Muenich Collusion of 1938 when the rulers of Britain and France threw the Czechoslovak Republic at the feet of the fascist invaders. The peoples had to pay for this traitorous policy with the lives of millions of their sons and daughters and with terrible privations.

Recall the history of the dispatch of the British and French military missions to Moscow in the summer of 1939. The Soviet Government then suggested absolutely concrete plans for joint actions by the armed forces of the three powers in case Germany should provoke a war in Europe. At that time it would not yet have been too late to halt the aggressor. Had the ruling quarters of Britain and France at that time expressed the desire and the will to rebuff the aggressor, Hitler would have thought more than twice before unleashing the war. History might have taken quite a different shape. There might have been no world war. Mankind would not have sustained such tremendous sacrifices and losses.

The Soviet Government then saw through the perfidy of the imperialist quarters which, conniving at the aggressor, wanted to crush the Soviet Union by means of Hitler's war machine. We understood that by their policy of flirting with Hitler the Wester powers pursued only one aim--to spearhead German aggression against the Soviet Union. It was clear to us that German fascism acted as the mailed fist of world reaction which was dreaming of crushing our country--the stronghold of the international revolutionary movement.

The Western powers had a far-reaching scheme -- to destroy the Soviet Union and at the same time to weaken Germany in order to have undivided domination over the world and to dictate their own terms to everyone. This scheme was expressed most cynically by Harry Truman, a former Senator, and later President of the United States of America. He said: "If we see that Germany is winning, we ought to help Russia and if Russia is winning, we ought to help Germany and that way let them kill as many as possible..."

Such a policy, the essence of which was so bluntly set forth by Truman, was carried through by the Western powers. These ideas are still alive in the minds of the aggressive imperialist quarters of the West.

They are not averse to trying this once again if they find a force they could push against the Soviet Union.

But now there is nc such force. The might of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist camp has grown so much that if the Western powers mobilised all their forces in an insane attempt to liquidate the achievements of the peoples of the socialist countries, even then they would have suffered a complete fiasco. (Prolonged applause.)

Even the representatives of the imperialist powers themselves now say that a balance of power between the Western states and the socialist countries has now been established in the world. The understanding of this represents progress on their part. But this progress would be even greater if those who understand the situation this way would actually conduct a policy in keeping with the present balance of power, that is a policy of peace and peaceful coexistence.

On the eve of World War II, the so-called Western Democracies conducted a double-faced policy and the Soviet Government understood that they did not want to join efforts with the Soviet Union against the fascist countries -- Germany and Italy, that they sought to prod nazi Germany against our country. Then the Soviet Government had no other recourse but to enter into negotiations with Hitler, although it realized that it was striking a deal with the devil incarnate.

It was the perfidious policy of the ruling circles of Britain and France that impelled us tc conclude a non-aggression pact with Germany in August 1939. We could not act otherwise. We had to prevent the establishment of a united anti-Soviet front of the imperialist powers and to give our people a peaceful breathing space.

Later events showed the near-sightedness of the policy of the Western countries' governments and the soundness of the position of the Soviet Union.

The first blow of Hitler Germany fell upon the Western countries. But they offered such weak resistence that Hitler, after routing them one by one and without exhausting his forces, returned to his main aim--the attack on the Soviet Union. In the war against the Soviet Union the German imperialists pursued not only predatory but also class objectives -- to destroy the first socialist state in the world. They expected to attain their aim in a brief space of time and with little loss of blood. This is precisely how the well-known Barbarossa Plan was drawn up under which the nazis expected to overrun our country even before the end of autumn of 1941.

But the calculations of the German militarists were one thing and the reality was quite another thing. Our Armed Forces, the whole Soviet people gave heroic rebuff to the invaders. The war assumed a protracted nature, it became the most bloody of all wars in history. It took the toll of many millions of lives, brought unbelievable sufferings to the peoples. Enormous material values created by the labour of many generations perished in the flames of the war. But the people withstood the trial of this war and routed fascist Germany. Hitler had to shoot himself and other fascist ring-leaders who did not commit suicide were tried.

But many war criminals as for instance Heusinger, Speidel and Foertsch succeeded in escaping punishment. Now far from having any qualms of conscience for their black deeds, they succeeded in getting recognition of their "services" from our former allies and occupy commanding posts in NATO. Apparently, the ruling quarters of the Western powers profited little from the lessons of the past.

Sixteen years have already elapsed since the end of the war, but no peace treaty has been concluded with Germany so far. Every sober-minded man or woman knows that people striving for peace end a war by signing a peace treaty and create all conditions for ending the state/war at the earliest possible date. The Western powers do notwant to end war by signing a peace treaty which would be the normal thing to do. They strive to preserve the state of war with Germany. What for? For peace? Certainly not, When peaceful settlement is artificially delayed, more than that, when those who propose to conclude a peace treaty are threatened with war, the peoples must treat the situation seriously. They must block the way to those who push matters towards the unleashing of the third world war in which not scores but hundreds of millions of people may die.

Who is interested in the absence of a German peace treaty, what forces are preventing its conclusion?

Certainly not the German people or peoples of Europe who experienced the horrors of two world wars within last few decades. The conclusion of a peace treaty is opposed by those forces in West Germany which think of revenge and are hatching plans for new military gambles. But it is clear to everyone that what matters is not only the Bonn militarists and surviving Hitlerites. The schemes of the revenge-seekers are encouraged and supported by the ruling quarters of the Western powers.

Having ended the war, the peoples of the countries of the anti-Hitler coalition hoped and believed that Germany, which was the initiator of the two world wars, will never again become a hotbed of militarism and aggression.

And what do we have in fact? West Germany has become now an influential member of the aggressive military NATO bloc. Hitler's generals not only command the Bundeswehr, but also hold key posts in NATO troops; they are in command of those French and British soldiers whose fathers had fought and died in battles against nazi invaders. In France and Britain, with the consent of the governments of these countries, units of West German troops are being instructed and trained for new campaigns. Militarists of the Federal Republic of Germany have already got hold of rocket weapons and are insistently demanding atomic weapons for the Bundeswehr.

Recently we have discussed all these questions in detail with the United States President Mr. Kennedy in Vienna.

We explained to him in detail why the conclusion of a German peace treaty can no longer be delayed indefinitely. This treaty must put a seal on the situation which has arisen after the World War II. Essentially we want nothing else. The position of the Soviet Government on this question is known to all the world. It was stated comprehensively in the memorandum which was handed to the United States President and published later on in the press.

I dwelt in detail on the German question in my recent radio and television speech and, I believe, there is no need to expound our proposals again in all detail.

What is the western reaction to our position?

The proposals of the Soviet Government attracted great interest and evoked broad response in all countries. All people who are interested in strengthening peace recognize the need for solving the question of a peace treaty with Germany, realize that this question is not only ripe but even overripe. They support our proposals which are aimed at a peaceful settlement of the German problem and offer a good basis for this.

At the same time one must say that the ruling circles of the Western powers still oppose the conclusion of a German peace treaty and would like to turn the German question into a touchstone for a test of strength.

Today I should like to warn those who, like Chancellor Adenauer, in reply to peaceful proposals of the Soviet Union, call for "standing firm" or even threaten to "give rebuff."

More than on one occasion we reminded the leaders of the Federal Republic of Germany about the merits of reason. Is it possible, gentlemen, that you have forgotten the inglorious experience of your predecessors and would like to repeat it? You may try and repeat it, of course. But that would be the beginning of your end (Applause). Now times are not what they were twenty years ago. Now, not only German revenge-seekers but all those who would try to support them in a new adventure against us would share the fate of Hitler. (Applause).

These words should not be taken as a threat. It is an appeal to reason. It is high time to understand at last that the Soviet Union is different now, that the world is different and that different is the balance of forces and armaments.

Therefore, Mr. Chancellor, do not try to frighten us with your "firmness". You say, that if we conclude a peace treaty with the GDR, you will stop at nothing. This indicates only the weakness of your positions.

Everybody knows that we do not want war. But if you really threaten us with war, we are not afraid of such a threat. If you do touch off a war, that will be your suicide. (Prolonged applause).

It goes without saying that some unreasonable person may commit suicide. His relations will weep over him but humanity will not suffer from that. But when statesmen invested with high authority are playing with fire, are threatening to plunge their country into the maelstrom of war, they stake not only their own lives but also the destiny of the peoples. By dragging West Germany into an adventure, you are pushing the people of your country to suicide.

Soviet people do not want war and just for this reason we strive to remove what can cause its outbreak. For the sake of this, at the end of this year, we, together with other peace-loving states, will sign a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic.(Stormy applause).

It is not war, not alliance of some countries against others for the purpose of building up forces for war, that the Soviet Union is offering. We want one thing only - lasting peace. It is to strengthen peace that it is essential to conclude a peace treaty, and thus eliminate the remnants of World War II. This we openly proclaim and want one and all to understand us correctly. The Soviet Union wants to sign a peace treaty with Germany together with our former allies.

Contrary to the noisy ravings of those who would like to keep up international tension, we do not threaten West Berlin at all when we urge the conclusion of a peace treaty. We should like sincerely to come to terms on this question too with those countries with which we had fought together agaist Hitler Germany and have common commitments with regard to Germany.

We propose a free city status for West Berlin. We have no intention of changing the social and political system in West Berlin. This is the internal matter of its population. Neither the Soviet Union, nor the German Democratic Republic intend to restrict the links between West Berlin and all the countries of the world. In conformity with international law, however, there must be respect for the sovereign rights of the German Democratic Republic, across whose territory run the communications connecting West Berlin with the outer world.

On the question of West Berlin the governments of the United States, Britain and France adhere to the positions of yesterday. Even western political leaders have to admit this. Mansfield, Democratic majority leader in the United States Senate, declared in his speech of June 14, 1961 that he could not agree with the position of the Kennedy Administration which fails to recognize the enormous changes that have occurred since the war in both parts of Germany and in Europe and which is fraught with the danger of a nuclear war. He stressed that courage is not to stand stubbornly on untenable positions but to seek agreement with other parties concerned on a business-like basis. This is a correct approach and we can only welcome it.

Senator Mansfield does not deny that with appropriate international guarantees the free city idea is the most suitable in the present conditions. He has suggested that the FRG and the GDR sign such a decision and make their contribution to its realization.

It is true, that Mansfield then loses the sense of realit he demands that the free city status should be applied not only to West Berlin but also to democratic Berlin which is known to be an integral part of the sovereign German Democrati Republic, its capital. Why further complicate the task of normalizing the situation in West Berlin, difficult as it is?

The Soviet Union proposes that in search for a solution the de facto and de jure situation now obtaining be taken as point of departure. No one demands to break the existing way of life of the West Berlin population, no one is going to intervene in its affairs. But the Soviet Union is not to be expected to agree to infringement of the territorial integrity of the German Democratic Republic, or of her sovereignty.

We propose that such a peace treaty be concluded with Germany as would not infringe the rights and interests of any of the sides, would not give some states an advantage over others. The Soviet Union only proposes to record what has long since taken shape and exists in reality. We propose de jure consolidation of the existing frontiers of Germany.

It is possible that the present frontiers do not please the West German revanchists but they have only themselves to blame. It was not we who began the war for the revision of frontiers. The present frontiers of Germany took shape as a result of the defeat of nazi Germany, as a result of the defeat of those who had unleashed a predatory war. (Applause). The new frontiers restored historic justice which had been violated by the ancestors of the present-day German militarists. (Applause).

We are told that the peace treaty we are going to conclude with the German Democratic Republic will be a separate treaty. In my radio and television speech I have already said that the United States of America, while signing a peace treaty with Japan, did not take us into consideration though we had been its allies in the war against Japan. Thus it showed that it regarded itself entitled to sign a treaty without us, though our rights, as one of the victorious countries, were irrefutable.

Now we, in our turn, want to exercise on the German question the same rights which the United States and its friends exercised on the Japanese question. We follow suit, no more. (Applause).

As regards those who try to threaten us with war if we sign a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic, they will bear the entire responsibility for their actions.

I should like to repeat that all sober-minded people, no matter how embittered they are against communism, against the Soviet Union, must understand that we live now in 1961 and not in 1941. We have all necessary means of defence. And we shall use these means not for attack but only in order to defend our homeland, the peaceful life of the Soviet people, the peoples of all socialist countries, who together with us stand on positions of peace and uphold it against the machinations of the West German revanchists and their patrons. (Prolonged applause).

Comrades, the indomitable might of socialism was fully manifested in the Great Patriotic War. The Soviet Union bore the brunt of the struggle against Hitler Germany which by the time when it attacked our country had conquered most of European countries.

We have always said that we achieved victory over fascism jointly with our allies in the anti-Hitler coalition. The Soviet people duly appreciate the assistance rendered them in the course of the war by the United States of America, Britain, France and other countries. I believe, however, that our former allies themselves understand that the decisive contribution to victory was made by the Soviet people and we in no way belittle their merits and efforts when we recall the selfless heroism of the Soviet people.

All decisive battles of World War II were fought on the eastern front: while the United States of America lost in World War II approximately 300,000 men and Britain approximately 250,000, on our front such losses were sustained in individual battles. There hardly is a single family in our country which did not suffer from the war. Our people lost the lives of many millions of their finest sons and daughters.

Yes, it was a very hard struggle but the Soviet Union stood the test. Not only did it stand the test but emerged from the ordeal of World War II even stronger than it was.

Within a brief space of time the Soviet people repaired all the war damage. Now even our sworn enemies admit that the Soviet Union is one of the strongest powers militarily. Besides, the Soviet Union is not alone now. We live and work within a great community of socialist countries whose population exceeds one billion.

Unleashing World War II the imperialists hoped to bury socialism. But actually it was fascism of Hitler and Mussolini that was buried under the war ruins, while socialism has become even more firmly rooted in the world. (Prolonged applause). We, Communists, believe in the triumph of the great ideas of Marxism and Leninism in the name of which the Soviet people fought during the years of World War II sparing no efforts and life itself. And it is because we believe in our ideas that we now as before stand for peace and international friendship, and fight for general disarmament. (Applause).

As far back as 1922, on Vladimir Ilyich Lenin's instructions, the Soviet delegation came out with a disarmament proposal at the Genoa conference. In 1927 the Soviet Union submitted its disarmament proposals to the League of Nations. After World War II the Soviet Union has been pressing for the solution of the disarmament problem with even greater persistence. In 1959 on behalf of the Soviet Government, I submitted to the United Nations a full-scale plan for universal and complete disarmament under strict international control. We firmly stand by this position because we sincerely want disarmament which is essential for ensuring peace to all people.

In our plea for disarmament, for peace and security of peoples, for peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, we proceed from the idea that the government and social system of any country is the internal matter of each people and that no one may impose some particular social order upon it.

The monopoly capital bosses who determine the policy of the Western powers, naturally have aconception of state and socio-political system which is diametrically opposite to ours. They want to perpetuate the capitalist system at all costs, to preserve the system existing in their countries under which the strong plunders the weak, the rich exploits the poor and appropriates the fruit of his labour. The socialist countries are developing on a different foundation. In socialist society all people are really equal because we have no capitalists and no proletarians; each member of the society discharges his definite social function, working for the good of the whole people and therefore for his own good. The higher production rises, the richer becomes our country, the richer becomes our entire society and every member of this society enjoys the benefits of social labour. In the socialist society all are equal and this equality in our country is real and not formal, as is the case in the so-called "free world", where the srong is free to plunder and oppress the weak.

Such are the opposing conceptions of the two worlds--the capitalist world and the socialist world. There will never be a reconciliation between them and it is our firm conviction that the socialist conception, as the most progressive one, will prevail over the capitalist conception. But we stress again and again: the social system is the business of the people of each country and this question must be decided by the people itself without external interference.

The Soviet Government is doing everything in its power to ensure peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, to see to it that they should not only coexist without war, but also closely cooperate maintaining brisk, businesslike trade, cultural, scientific and other contacts.

It is to ensure lasting peace that we wage the struggle for disarmament. Although the western powers, the United States in the first place, stubbornly reject disarmament under some pretexts or other, we shall insist on our proposals again and again, will strive persistently to make all people understand the need for solving the disarmament problem, because this is in the interests of the peoples.

The ruling circles of capitalist countries lack the courage to say openly that they are against disarmament. They pretend that they are ready to negotiate, express readiness to sit endlessly on various committees and sub-committees. The endless meetings on disarmament that were held in the sixteen years since the end of World War II have not pushed this matter a single step forward.

Representatives of countries of monopoly capital go to disarmament talks with the sole purpose to mislead their peoples, to lure them with hope for agreement, but in reality to sabotage disarmament, to continue the feverish arms race. And they would like to do this so cunningly as to lay the blame for the sabotaging of agreement upon the socialist countries. For this purpose bourgeois diplomacy and propaganda are hard at work spreading the fabrication that we propose disarmament without control and thus prevent agreement on disarmament.

We have exposed this machination. We have declared in the United Nations: Gentlemen, if you want agreement not in words but in deeds, accept our proposals for universal disarmament, and then we shall accept any of your proposals on control.

The enemies of disarmament have nothing to say to that. They have only one path open to them: to mislead the peoples and to repeat endlessly the fable that we stand for disarmament without control. But, as the saying goes, lies have short legs and one cannot get far on them!

In conditions when the governments of the Western powers stubbornly sabotage disarmament, the solution of this vital problem entirely depends upon the peoples. All peoples must realize the earnestness of the present situation and bring pressure to bear on those governments which obstruct the solution of the disarmament problem--the most important problem of our time.

The working people, intellectuals, all people who want peace, can and must compel the governments of capitalist countries to accept disarmament. If this is not done, the imperialist circles may bring the peoples to a war and then it will be too late to look for culprits. Modern war has its own inexorable law-mass extermination of people, destruct: of all material values.

I speak about this in all seriousness to make plain to all the importance of active struggle for disarmament, on the outcome of which the future of mankind will depend in many respects. As to the Soviet Union, the people of all countries may rest assured that it will not be found wanting. We are ready to sign even tomorrow an agreement on universal and complete disarmament with any, most strict international control. (Applause).

But we shall not accept control without disarmament, because such control would in effect be espionage. In this connection I should like to say a few words on the question of a nuclear weapons test-ban. At the Geneva talks, the Western powers have taken a position which does not make it possible to reach agreement to end these tests.

In its recent memorandum the Soviet Government has propos an interdependent solution of the problem of ending nuclear weapon tests and of universal and complete disarmament. The other day the United States Government has sent us a memorandum rejecting our proposal. We shall reply to the White House memorandum. But already now I am in a position to say that we firmly stand by the views we have stated.

For close to three years already the Soviet Union has been making no nuclear weapon tests, although we have no treaty with the Western powers on this matter. We can continue abstaining from nuclear tests and offer to the Western powers to reach agreement on the disarmament problem as a whole and on its component parts, including the question of nuclear weapons tests.

Some American leaders urge the United States Government to resume nuclear weapon tests if the Soviet Union does not accept the Western powers' demands.

What can be said about such threats? They will frighten no one but merely expose the unreasonableness of those who resort to them. We must warn these gentlemen: No sooner the United States resumes nuclear explosions, the Soviet Union will start testing its nuclear weapons. Quite a few devices which need practical testing have been developed in the Soviet Union. This testing, of course, will increase the fighting power of our armed forces and enable us to develop even better atomic and nuclear bombs and to improve the technology of their manufacture. If in reply to the resumption of nuclear tests by the Western powers we did not start testing our weapons we would damage the defence potential of our country and of the entire socialist community.

Thus, the entire responsibility for the resumption of nuclear weapon tests will rest with the governments of the Western powers.

The Soviet Union is persistently pursuing a policy of peace, of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, a policy of non-interference of some states into internal affairs of other states. In negotiations with its partners, the Soviet Union is pressing for concluding an agreement of general and complete disarmament under strictest control, an agreement banning nuclear weapons.

Steadily pursuing our peaceloving foreign policy, we have always maintained that questions of the social and political system of states, questions of class struggle and of changing the system within some country is the business of the people of each state.

The Soviet foreign policy has earned recognition and trust of the peoples and we are proud of this. The Soviet Union, the countries of socialism are making tremendous efforts to preserve world peace, are seeking peaceful settlement of disputable and unsolved questions in international relations.

The Soviet Union, possessing tremendous economic and military might, has never used and will not use its strength for aggressive purposes. On the contrary, it directs all its efforts towards ensuring peace.

Comrades, I am proud of the high award bestowed upon me--the Lenin Prize for the Promotion of Peace among the Peoples. (Stormy applause.)

I have already said that I regard this prize not only as the recognition of my personal efforts as the Head of the Government of the Soviet Union but also as recognition of the efforts of all peoples of our country in their persistent struggle for the strengthening of peace. (Stormy applause.)

It is often said in our press that Khrushchov is a peace champion, that he will ensure world peace and so on. This is flattering, of course. But to pin hopes on one country, on one person even if he stands at the head of the government of such a country as the Soviet Union, and to expect that they alone can ensure peace while others will be inactive, means to do a service not to peace, but to the forces of aggression, the forces of war.

Life shows that to win world peace it is not enough to rely on the efforts of some single country. It is not enough to find "heroes" of some sort and rely on them to ensure peace. In order to ensure enduring peace on Earth it is essential for the peoples of our entire planet to make an all-out effort to strengthen peace. The peoples and the peoples alone can force the governments which resist disarmament, which build up stocks of arms in order to unleash war, to desist from such a dangerous and unreasonable policy.

Peace can be ensured only when the peoples of each country will not rely on other countries but will launch within their own country an irreconcilable struggle against the forces which stand for war, will make an all-out effort to ensure peace. (Applause.)

All the peoples want peace, peaceful coexistence. Only a handful of imperialists, representatives of monopoly capital, a handful of aggressive revenge-seekers in West Germany are of different opinion. But the trouble is that representatives of these circles hold com anding heights in the Western countries, occupy key posts in governments and determine the policy of the Western countries.

That is why no people that really wants the terrible conflagration of the most devastating war never to break out on earth can stay aloof from the common struggle for peace. The peoples should realize that only they can and must compel their governments to renounce the dangerous policy aimed at fanning up war passion and the arms race, can and must render harmless those people who conduct a policy of building up aggressive forces, the policy of preparing war.

The Soviet Government, our people must closely follow the trends in the international situation. It is well-known that the Soviet Union went to great effort to achieve a relaxation of international tension. Our Government has submitted a proposal on universal and complete disarmament which has found enthusiastic response and support in all countries of the world. We have dismantled all our military bases abroad. The Soviet Union has repeatedly cut its armed forces on a unilateral basis.

However, the Western powers with which we are negotiating disarmament have not reciprocated this, have not adopted the path of reducing their armed forces. Far from that, the United States this year is increasing appropriations for armaments by close to two and a half billion dollars over the last year. At present in the United States they are discussing the question of increasing the numerical strength of the armed forces. They are busy there establishing so-called guerrilla detachments which are to be dispatched to other countries to suppress liberation movements, to fight against governments and state systems which do not suit the imperialist Western circles. These detachments are being trained for murder, sabotage, subversion.

Chancellor Adenauer is demanding nuclear weapons for the Bundeswehr. It goes without saying that it is not for play that West German militarists want to have nuclear weapons, but for revanchist adventures they are planning against the Soviet Union, the socialist countries and other states.

Naturally, such measures of the Western powers are not designed to improve the international climate, to reach agreement on disarmament, but to aggravate relations between states, to whip up the cold war. We must take a sober view of the situation, be vigilant, so that the enemies of socialism, the aggressive militaristic circles should not catch us unawares.

We must make every effort to strengthen still more the might of our homeland, to raise still higher our economy, science and technology, to raise the living and cultural standards of the people.

Now, as before, we must be tireless in our concern for the armed forces of our country which stand guard over the gains of the October Revolution, the gains of socialism. Our armed forces must always be ready to ensure dependably the security of the Soviet Union, must have all that is needed to smash immediately any enemy who will dare to encroach on the freedom of our Homeland. (Stormy, prolonged applause.)

May those who harbour aggressive designs against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries know what their fate will be if they touch off a war and attack. (Stormy applause).

The Soviet Government is doing everything in its power to end the arms race, to relieve the people of the grave burden of war expenditures. Unfortunately, to our appeal to compete in the production of material and spiritual values, the imperialist powers respond by increasing military appropriations, by increasing the numerical strength of their armed forces. This might make it imperative for the Soviet Union to likewise increase appropriations for armaments, to strengthen and improve our defences, and, if need be, to increase also the numerical strength of our armed forces, so as to ensure peace and peaceful coexistence relying on our might. (Stormy applause).

Dear comrades, allow me on behalf of the Central Committee of our Party and the Soviet Government to greet our valiant armed forces which stand guard over the constructive labour of the Soviet people. (Prolonged apolause). We warmly greet army and navymen, sergeants and petty officers, officers, generals and admirals and wish them great success in their noble military duty. (Prolonged applause).

The strengthening of the defences of the Soviet Union depends on the perfection of all services of our armed forces--infantry and artillery, engineering and communications troops, armoured units and the navy, the air and rocket forces.

In our time exceptionally great is the responsibility of the rocket forces, especially of units which service ballistic rockets of various ranges, from tactical to intercontinental. Their combat readiness and training must be of the highest level because very much depends on rocket forces.

It is their crushing power that is the prime deterrent that keeps any potential aggressor from attacking us and our allies. Their capability of striking in retaliation is the force which will inexorably punish the aggressor, if nevertheless he dares to commit an act of madness and touches off a new war. (Prolonged applause.)

Today on the twentieth anniversary of the treacherous attack of Hitler Germany on the Soviet Union we think of those who gave up their lives for the freedom and independence of the great Soviet Homeland. Never will be erased from the memory of the people the great exploit of the glorious soldiers of the Soviet Army, of navymen, of valiant partisans, men and women, who died the death of the brave in battles against fascist invaders.

Forever shall we remember the millions of peaceful Soviet people who perished in this terrible war. There is no family in our country which did not lose a husband or son, a brother or father, a daughter or sister.

Comrades, I ask you to stand in memory of those who fell in battle against the fascist invaders, for the freedom and independence of our Homeland. (All rise.)

Tremendous were the sacrifices made by our people in defending the freedom and independence of our Homeland. These were sacrifices in the name of a great noble cause. And now, twenty years after the outbreak of the Great Patriotic War, sixteen years after it had ended, our country has reached unparalleled heights in the development of her economy, culture, science, technology, and is firmly marching onward to new victories.

We are proud that the Soviet people led by the Communist Party, under the banner of Marxism-Leninism was the first to accomplish a socialist revolution and usher in a new era in t history of humanity. The great founders of scientific communism blazed the first paths to a better life. And now these paths have turned into the main road of all humanity, along which the peoples of many countries are advancing victoriously. (Prolonged applause.)

The Soviet people, having built socialism, are confidently marching along the road of building communism. The draft program of our Party approved the other day by a Plenary Meeting of the Party's Central Committee, and which will be published for universal discussion, outlines a broad front for the comprehensive upbuilding of communism, for the realization of the age-old dream of all mankind. It has been our great fortune to participate in this lofty cause. (Stormy applause.)

Long live the Soviet people, the victor people! (Stormy, prolonged applause.)

Long live the valiant Armed Forces of the Soviet Union! (Stormy, prolonged applause.)

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the organizer and inspirer of all our victories! (Stormy, prolonged applause.)

Long live world peace! (Stormy, prolonged applause. All rise. Cheers in honour of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government. Cries of "Hurrah.")

(All papers. In full.)

RECEPTION HELD BY CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF C.P.S.U. AND COUNCIL OF MINISTERS OF U.S.S.R. FOR GRADUATES OF MILITARY ACADEMIES

On July 8, 1961, officers who have just graduated from military academies gathered in the conference hall of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet. The Soviet Army and Navy have received a fresh reinforcement of highly qualified military specialists. Each of them has years of hard intense studies behind him. Present in the hall were their teachers and professors, famous generals, who with great enthusiasm had conveyed their knowledge, their rich theoretical and practical experience to the students of higher military educational establishments. Officers and generals of the armies of the fraternal socialist countries, graduates of Soviet military academies, also attended the reception.

All of them came to the Grand Kremlin Palace to the traditional reception given by the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U. and the Council of Ministers of the U.S.S.R.

The meeting with the leaders of the Party and Government was a noteworthy event in the lives of all those present in the Palace. The feeling of elation which gripped them found expression in the ardent and prolonged applause with which they met the appearance in the presidium of L.I.Brezhnev, F.R.Kozlov, A.N.Kosygin, A.I.Mikoyan, D.S.Polyansky, Y.A.Furtseva, N.S. Khrushchov, V.V. Grishin, and others.

The meeting was opened by the U.S.S.R. Minister of Defence. Marshal of the Soviet Union R.Y.Malinovsky.

Speech by N.S. Khrushchov

Dear comrades,

Today we mark the graduation by our military academies of a new detachment of highly skilled officers.

May I on behalf of the Central Committee of our Party, the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Soviet Government heartily congratulate the graduates of the academies and wish you big successes in that important activity you are called upon to conduct in military units. (Stormy applause.)

The Soviet people love their own Army, they are proud of those who dedicate their life to building up the Armed Forces, strengthening the defensive potential of our great Homeland! (Prolonged applause.)

I congratulate the professors, teachers, the entire staff of the academies who have worked hard to impart to the students the necessary knowledge, to help them master the latest achievements of contemporary military science. (Prolonged applause.)

We greet the officers from the socialist countries who have finished military academies this year. We wholeheartedly wish you to work fruitfully on strengthening the fraternal armies for the good of your peoples, for the sake of the interests of the entire socialist camp. (Prolonged applause.)

Comrades, you have finished your studies and will soon be sent to military units. Each of you can and must make his worthy contribution to the great and honourable cause of strengthening the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union. You must always bear in mind that the Soviet people, the Communist Party and the Government entrusted the Soviet soldiers with the defence of the achievements of the October Revolution, the achievements of socialism, attained under the leadership of the Party of the great Lenin. (Stormy applause.)

The Armed Forces of the Soviet Union and the fraternal socialist countries stand guard over our splendid present and the still brighter future to which our peoples are advancing under the banner of Marxism-Leninism.

Our entire country is preparing for the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The special importance of the 22nd Congress lies in the fact that it will adopt a new Party Program which will lay down the principal tasks in economic and cultural developments, in foreign policy and in the communist education of the people. The Program will chart the concrete ways of the Soviet people's movement towards communism.

Before long all Soviet citizens will be able to acquaint themselves with this highly important document and to rejoice at the future of their country which in the next two decades will achieve magnificent successes in the advance of the economy and culture, in the rise in the living standards of the Soviet people. In its economic development the Soviet Union will outstrip the major capitalist countries. (Applause.)

Comrades, the Soviet Union is a profoundly peaceloving state. There is no other country in the world which has done so much to safeguard a lasting peace and international cooperation.

The Soviet Union has been exerting tremendous efforts in order to reach agreement on disarmament with strict international control. The idea of general and complete disarmament, advanced by the Soviet Government, has been unanimously approved by the United Nations General Assembly and met with broad support in all countries of the world.

However, as the talks have shown, the ruling quarters of the western powers, while paying lip-service to the idea of disarmament, do not really want it. Of late they have even been afraid of mentioning general and complete disarmament.

They seek to confine the matter to control over armaments, placing under their control, above all, the up-to-date types of Soviet armaments and military equipment.

The Western powers even frustrate the reaching of agreement on the cessation of nuclear weapons tests by refusing us an equal status in the control agency. They would like see a system of verification of the cessation of nuclear tests functioning in our country while we would essentially be kept away from participation in the work of control agencies. There would be nothing for us to do but submit to the decisions of an international administrator, a kind of new Hammarskjoeld.

Today it is acknowledged in the West that the forces of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are not inferior to the forces of the Western powers. However, the proper conclusions are not drawn from this fact: given equal forces, there must also be equal rights and equal opportunities. Yet our partners, acknowledging that the balance of power has tilted not in their favour, nevertheless want to dominate in international agencies and impose their will on them.

In the solution of the disarmament problem and other international issues, the Soviet Government does not seek to place the Western powers in an unequal position. But we will never forego our interests.

The Soviet Union has always been ready to examine in a businesslike manner all proposals which are advanced by governments and statesmen of various countries.

We believe that it would be a good thing to revert to some proposals which various countries have made in recent years. For many of them are highly realistic and their implementation would promote the cause of peace. Let us take, for instance, the Polish proposal for a nuclear-free zone in the centre of Europe; the proposals for the withdrawal of foreign troops from alien territories to within their national boundaries; the conclusion of a non-aggression pact between the NATO countries and the Warsaw Treaty Organization; on averting surprise attack and the establishment in Europe of a zone of reciprocal inspection and aerial survey on both sides of the line dividing the armed forces of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty.

Would the acceptance of such proposals hurt anyone? No, it would facilitate a relaxation of international tension, liquidation of the "cold war" and better mutual understanding. However, even if these measures are implemented, general and complete disarmament remains the most cardinal problem whose solution would radically improve the entire international climate, would make people confident that there will be no third world war. The Soviet Union will do its utmost to have this problem solved for the good of mankind.

Our country wants to have good relations with all states. One must have a sober approach to the solution of international disputes. We want to eliminate the vestiges of World War Two, to put an end to the "cold war" and thus to help reach agreement on disarmament. It is time to draw a line beneath the past, it must not stand in the way of the future.

Permit me, comrades, to dwell in greater detail on such an important question as the conclusion of the German peace treaty, to let you know what our policy is and what situation is now taking shape.

The Soviet government together with the governments of the other socialist countries proposed to our allies in the war with fascist Germany to conclude a German peace treaty and on this basis to normalize the situation in West Berlin. We also urged the head of the West German government, Chancellor Adenauer, to show understanding and good will for a solution of this vital task of our time. The socialist countries have said openly that they want to conclude a peace treaty this year since over 16 years have elapsed since the end of the war, a more than adequate period to prepare a solution of this problem.

What are the Western reactions to this? The governments have not yet replied officially.

But many reports on this score have appeared in Western press organs, which are close either to government circles, or to military staffs or to ruling parties. Unfortunately, voices are being heard expressing much nonsense and little common sense. We are threatened, are told that they will stand "firm", resort to force in order to break through to West Berlin when the German peace treaty is signed.

Of late threatening notes have also been heard in statements by leaders of Western governments. General de Gaulle, President of France, recently declared that one French division would be shipped from Algeria to Europe in autumn in order to reinforce NATO. Mr. Macmillan, Premier of the United Kingdom, also has not yet found better, more constructive words than statements on "firmness" for the sake of preserving the vestiges of war and occupation in Germany.

The Soviet government stands on positions of peace and peaceful coexistence, on positions of respect of sovereignty and noninterference in the domestic affairs of other states. We have stood and we will stand firmly on this. Our firmness, thus, has a definite, peaceful trend.

When others in one breath mention firmness and the necessity of mobilization, the shipment of more troops to Europe and the like--this is quite a different course. This is obstinate unwillingness to heed the demand of the time and the voice of reason, an attempt in the old fashion to resort to arms, believing that this is the weightiest argument in solving urgent international problems.

Replying to our, it would seem, most natural proposals for the conclusion of a peace treaty, the West begins to count divisions. And Chancellor Adenauer is shouting himself hoarse for nuclear weapons. What does Adenauer need nuclear weapons for? Twice German militarism has engineered world wars. Now, when the wounds of World War Two are still felt, he calls for nuclear weapons. The Bundeswehr needs them not for peace, but for unleashing a third world war.

Many of you, comrades, fought in World War Two and saw for yourselves how much suffering it brought, you experienced for yourselves the meaning of war. You all understand what a war would mean now, god forbid that it breaks out. Here it is not the number of divisions that will be decisive. In a nuclear war the tone will be set by rockets, atom and hydrogen bombs. And it is not so important how many divisions will be shipped from Algeria: one or ten, it makes no difference.

Herr Adenauer did not fight and, evidently, wants to make up for it in his old age. He has also indicated against whom to fight. As recently as last Sunday the Bonn Chancellor again qualified the Soviet Union as "potential enemy" and demanded that the Bundeswehr should become equal in armaments with this enemy. At the same time he cursed those who are advocating neutrality in Western Germany.

Did the Chancellor think what he was saying? He loves to pass himself off as a victim of Hitler, yet he follows in Hitler's footsteps. Adenauer, evidently, has no idea what contemporary war means, otherwise he would not play about so recklessly with the destinies of human beings.

One must call not for war, but for peace, one must not worsen the atmosphere, must not carry matters to a conflict. Let us sit down at a table and calmly discuss all questions without resorting to threats. We propose the convocation of a peace conference and we shall go there with our draft treaty. Let the Western powers make their proposals, submit their draft for a peace settlement. We shall discuss all proposals and accept those which will in the best way facilitate the strengthening of peace and which pay due regard to the interests and sovereignty of all states.

West Berlin is an island inside the German Democratic Republic, an island, where the capitalist order has been preserved. We do not want to interfere in the domestic affairs of the city's population or affect the prestige of the United States, the United Kingdom and France. Is it possible to find such a solution as would satisfy all countries that fought against Germany and would not disturb the established way of life in West Berlin? Yes, it is possible, and we propose such a solution--to grant West Berlin the status of a free city, to give it a guarantee either by the four Great Powers, the United States, the United Kingdom, France and the Soviet Union, or by neutral countries, or by the United Nations organization. If the western powers have a better version of guarantees, let them propose it.

However, it is but natural that any West Berlin solution must take into consideration that the city lies in the centre of a sovereign state and that all communications of West Berlin with the outside world pass across the territory of that state. It is accepted in international relations that access to one country or another across the territory of another state has always required appropriate agreement with the authorities of that state.

For instance, the Soviet and British governments set up a regular air service between Moscow and London. The route of the flights passes through Copenhagen. But no one would have permitted us to fly via Copenhagen had we not reached an understanding with the Danish government. This is so normal and legitimate, that there is nothing puzzling about it. So why should there be another procedure for flights over the territory of the German Democratic Republic or in using her roads and railways?

Proposing to conclude a German peace treaty and on this basis to solve the problem of West Berlin, we threaten no one. We do not demand either changes in the postwar social and political conditions in one state or another, or the establishment of new frontiers. The Soviet Union does not search for any gains in the peace settlement, does not seek to humiliate anyone or infringe upon anyone's interests.

The socialist countries do not encroach upon the right of the west Berliners freely to determine the social and economic order under which they want to live. No one is going to create obstacles to the access to West Berlin. The city will be able to establish and maintain contacts with any state to the extent it will be advantageous to it.

The Soviet Government agrees with President Kennedy's recent statement that any West Berlin solution must not infringe upon the rights of the population of this city to make an independent choice as free people. Our proposal fully accords with this demand.

The Soviet Government is ready for the most far-reaching guarantees as regards West Berlin. I have more than once mentioned various forms of guarantees, but the NATO countries, which kick up a pejorative over West Berlin, studiously hush up this part of our proposals.

The capitalist "free" press, sensing the weakness of the Western positions, is shouting that the Soviet Union wants to seize West Berlin, make some gains at the expense of others. By such fabrications it seeks to conceal from public opinion the genuine nature of the Soviet proposals.

We do not encroach upon West Berlin or the freedom of its population. We are for the freedom of West Berlin on the basis of freedom, rather than on the basis of occupation. We want nothing but the liquidation of the vestiges of World War II in order to improve the entire climate in Europe. That is precisely why the Soviet Union insists on the conclusion of a German peace treaty.

The Soviet Union regrets that the leaders of the Western powers do not show a desire to cooperate with us in the conclusion of a German peace treaty. Either they do not understand the importance of a peace settlement with Germany for the destinies of peace, or, what is more likely, they cannot rise above the narrow interests of their military blocs.

This is clear and understandable to all who search for reasonable solutions. But there are people who depict our proposals as a "threat" and then say that they will reply with force to this "threat." Is this a sober policy? It is not without reason that it is justly criticised in the western countries themselves. Many people there correctly assess the situation, urge the leaders of the United States, Britain and France to abandon prejudice and to examine how remote western policy is from the real conditions in which states live.

One can refer to such prominent authorities in the Western world as the United States General Macarthur who in a recent speech at Manila called for outlawing world war. Or to the British Fieldmarshal Montgomery who suggests the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Europe, the liquidation of foreign military bases, the withdrawal of foreign troops from Berlin, etc. This is the voice of men who have

fought in war; they know the meaning of war and have a correct idea of the calamity a new world war would bring to mankind should it break out.

We urge the discarding of the method of intimidation. War must not be tolerated--it will take far too many human lives. The first shots might be fired on the border where troops are facing each other. But who can guarantee that these shots will not be echoed by nuclear explosions throughout the world, that a war will not begin which mixes up front and rear? Everyone must be aware of this. Those who threaten us ought to know that we are able to rebuff aggressors. We have means for this. (Prolonged applause.)

The Soviet Union made tremendous progress in the development of its economy, culture and technology. Our people created and built up their armed forces that bore the brunt of the struggle against fascism and crushed German militarism. This gives us the right--I think I shall be understood corectly--to appeal to the leaders of the countries that were our allies in the last war, to the President of the United States, Mr. Kennedy, the President of the French Republic, General de Gaulle, the Prime Minister of Great Britain, Mr. Macmillan, urging them to display wisdom in the solution of the German problem, to attend a conference together with other peaceloving states and to conclude a peace treaty. (Applause.)

Common sense and once again common sense--is needed, above all, now. And it must find an expression in peaceful deeds, in the desire to eradicate tension. No other step in our time can be more peaceable than the conclusion of a peace treaty and the liquidation of the vestiges of the last war.

We propose peace, we want that reason should prevail in the relations between states, that there should be peaceful coexistence and competition as to what system secures greater material and spiritual blessings to the peoples. The peoples must determine themselves what system accords with their vital interests: the communist system or the capitalist?

Proposing the conclusion of a peace treaty, the Soviet Government does not want that some should gain and others lose. Let us record what exists. No one's sovereignty will be affected by the conclusion of a German peace treaty. The militaristic revenge-seeking quarters in Western Germany, of course, will dislike the peace treaty. It will tie their hands, make it more difficult to collect forces for fresh gambles. But the meaning of a peace treaty actually is to cut short the dangerous play of the West German revanchists who seek to take advantage of instability in Europe and to set at Loggerheads the Great Powers.

I repeat, there are no serious reasons which could really prevent a peace settlement with Germany, but nevertheless the opponents of international relaxation and the conclusion of a peace treaty seek to justify such position by all kinds of insolvent arguments.

They declare, for instance, that the division of Germany prevents a peace settlement. If the Western powers really wanted to help the Germans to unite, far from obstructing, they would advise the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany to enter into negotiations with the Government of the German Democratic Republic. They would support the proposal of the Government of the German Democratic Republic for setting up a confederation of the two German states.

If the absence of an all-German government really prevented the conclusion of a peace treaty, the Western powers and the Federal Republic of Germany would accept the proposal the Soviet Union is now making, to wit, that the Germans should meet before the signing of a German peace treaty to hammer out common views both on the question of a peace settlement and on the reunification of the country.

It is the business of the Germans themselves to restore Germany's national unity. No states have the right to interfere in this affair, because no one can solve this question but the Germans themselves. We do not intend to conduct any talks on this question. Let the governments of the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic reach agreement on this question and we shall recognize any decision they come to.

But if anyone calculates to liquidate with our hands the socialist system in the German Democratic Republic, he is living in a world of illusions. The German Democratic Republic has a loyal and reliable friend in the Soviet Union. (applause.)

There are many unsettled matters in Germany. This, apparently, is now acknowledged by everyone and hence the logical conclusion--we must resolve these matters and not wait till they cause a conflict. Questions of an international nature must be resolved at a corresponding forum. Inter-German problems can be settled only by the Germans themselves.

The Soviet Government will regret very much if anyone of our former allies does not sign together with us the German peace treaty and if West Germany refuses to accept the hand of reconciliation extended to her by the socialist states. But we cannot put up with the solution of this question, vitally important for so many states and peoples, being dragged out for many more years only because certain quarters wish to save for themselves opportunities for revenge and to perpetuate an occupation regime in a part of the German territory.

The Soviet Union will be confronted with the necessity of reaching agreement with the German Democratic Republic and the countries that wish to conclude a peace treaty with this peaceloving German state.

The procedure of the conclusion of a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic will conform strictly to the obtaining international practice and customs. After the conclusion of the treaty the Soviet Union will lay down all obligations it had hitherto discharged on the communication lanes with West Berlin. In short, the Government of the German Democratic Republic will enjoy full sovereignty over all its territory just as any other independent state. (Applause.)

You, Comrades, are military people and you know very well what it is to disregard the provisions of a peace treaty and to try to violate the sovereignty of the German Democratic Republic. Many of you will serve in the forces which, under the Warsaw Treaty, are stationed in the territory of the German Democratic Republic and this means that you will have to rebuff the aggressive forces if they decide to frustrate peaceful settlement by force of arms. I call your attention to the fact that it is precisely a peace treaty to which some people threaten to reply with force and to cause a dangerous international crisis.

The Soviet Government is displaying persistence in the conclusion of a German peace treaty, convinced that if measures are not taken now to normalize the situation in Germany and West Berlin, the people may be confronted with the fact of an aggression launched by the West German militarists. There is no guarantee that some venture of the West German successors of Hitler will not kindle the fire of a big war. Then it will be too late to investigate what prevent the timely conclusion of a peace treaty and why, despite all the warnings of the peaceloving forces, militarism in West Germany was allowed to rise to its feet and take up arms again.

Remember how Hitler pushed the world to the brink of war and then unleashed it. He advanced gradually, step by step, methodically to this goal, extorted concessions from the western powers. He was encouraged by the ruling quarters of Britain, France and America. They believe that with the help of fascism they would be able to defeat the Soviet Union to destroy communism.

There is a no little number of documents and books describing how Hitler Germany prepared world war II. Recently I read, for instance, the book by the French journalist Genevieve Tabouis "Twenty Years of Diplomatic Struggle." This book shows very well the backstage side of the collusion of German militarists with the reactionary forces of the other countries of monopoly capital. Apparently, the frantic monopolists and West German revanchists would not mind embarking again on this road with a view to settling disputed questions through war.

The monopolists regard the question of communism, its development, as the principal issue. Their reason is obscured by hatred for communism, for the countries of socialism. Their centres of restraint may fail them and the imperialists may unleash a new war. Adenauer is repeating what Hitler had done in his time when preparing for war. And actually the same countries that encouraged Hitler are now encouraging him. But they forget that the situation has changed radically since then. In those days the Soviet Union and People's Mongolia were in a capitalist encirclement. Now the mighty socialist camp is growing and gaining in strength, a camp which unites over one thousand million people. The colonial system is collapsing and ever new independent states are emerging and embarking upon the road of a peaceful policy. Today it is not the forces of imperialism, but the forces of peace and socialism that determine the main laws, the main direction of international and social development. (Prolonged applause.)

The Soviet Union is displaying maximum good will to achieve understanding with our former allies and the Federal Republic of Germany. But the language of threats and intimidation to which the West often resorts does not promote a businesslike atmosphere for negotiations. Moreover, under such circumstances, the conclusion of a peace treaty with the German Democratic Republic, with all the attendant consequences, may prove to be the only way out of the obtaining situation.

We shall sign the peace treaty and order our armed forces to administer a worthy rebuff to any aggressor if he dares raise a hand on the Soviet Union or our friends. (Stormy applause.)

The Soviet Government sincerely strives to achieve a lasting peace. But we must not forget that the safeguarding of peace depends not only on our desire, not only on our efforts. A lasting peace can be ensured only if efforts to achieve this goal are exerted also by the governments of other states, if the peoples of all the world fight for this.

We say that a new world war is not inevitable. However, it must not be considered that the possibility of war has already been ruled out completely, inasmuch as the imperialist powers will exist. This is why we must be ready for any contingencies and well prepared. The Soviet people and our youths, above all, must be vigilant and ready to defend the country, to rebuff the aggressor if he dares attack our Homeland. (Prolonged applause.)

We must perfect our weapons, improve our skill in handling arms, so that they would fire without fail and with pinpoint precision. This must be remembered primarily by you the commanders and leaders of our forces. The Soviet Army must be ready at any moment to defend reliably the peaceful construction of communism in the Soviet Union and to fulfil its internationalist duty of rendering aid to the other socialist nations. (Applause.)

The Soviet Armed Forces today have everything necessary to solve successfully the responsible tasks set before them. They possess the necessary quantities of thermonuclear weapons, the most efficient means of delivering them -- close combat, intermediate and intercontinental missiles.

It is best for those who think of war not to imagine that distances will save them. No, if the imperialists unleash a war, it will end with imperialism's complete debacle and ruin. Mankind will end once and for all the system which gives rise to aggressive wars. (Prolonged applause.)

Comrades, the Government of the Soviet Union follows attentively the military measures taken of late by the United States of America and its NATO allies. We cannot disregard such facts as the building up of armed forces in the Western countries, the steps to increase considerably the number of strategic A-bombers, which are constantly kept in the air. The forces of West Germany are being equipped with the latest weapons and increased numerically.

The United States President Mr. Kennedy proclaimed in his recent messages to Congress the so-called "new course." It provides for stepping up the program of developing rocket-missile strategic weapons, the raising of the military readiness of all services. For this purpose President Kennedy has proposed to increase military allocations as compared with the draft budget submitted by the previous president by more than three and a half thousand million dollars. This means that the military spendings in the fiscal year of 1961-1962 will exceed 53 thousand million dollars. The military spendings in the Federal Republic of Germany increased 18 per cent this year. A considerable growth of military spendings is characteristic of Britain, France and other NATO countries.

This is now the Western powers are replying to the Soviet Union's unilateral reduction of its Armed Forces and military spendings conducted for several past years.

Would it be correct for us in these conditions to continue reducing our Armed Forces unilaterally?

Taking into account the obtaining situation, the Soviet Government was compelled to instruct the Defence Ministry to suspend temporarily, pending special orders, the reduction of the Armed Forces planned for 1961. (Prolonged applause.)

In view of the growing military budgets in the NATO countries, the Soviet Government has passed a decision to increase defence spendings in the current year by 3,144 million roubles, thereby raising the total military spendings in 1961 to 12,399 million roubles. (Prolonged applause.)

These are forced measures, comrades. We are taking them due to the emerging circumstances, because we cannot neglect the interests of the Soviet people's security.

Comrades, we are firmly convinced that the solution of many pressing problems, pertaining to the improvement of the international situation, depends greatly on the improvement of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States. Of course, we realize that the improvement of Soviet-American relations is not a simple task. It cannot be achieved without the desire and practical steps of both sides.

[redacted]

Interesting in this light is the statement made by the President of the United States, Mr.Kennedy, at the June 28 press conference, where he dwelt on peaceful economic competition between our two countries. We appreciate such an approach. This, of course, is much better than competing in the development of ever more destructive types of weapons. We have always said this and we go on repeating it.

The Soviet Union still lags behind the United States as regards the level of its economic development and we frankly admit it. But our country has inexhaustible potentialities to overcome this lag quickly and to become richer than the United States.

The Soviet people are convinced that the time is not far off when the Soviet Union will overtake and outstrip the United States economically. This is not wishful thinking, but feasible plans based on concrete calculations.

Our desire to be richer than the United States, to overtake it in economic development does not mean, of course, a threat to the United States. Some people call this our challenge to the United States. But this is a challenge to peaceful competition. What's bad in it? Irrespective of who wins this competition, the peoples of both countries will benefit from it, because they will enjoy the boons of peaceful labour.

President Kennedy acknowledged in his statement at the press conference that the socialist system permits the Soviet Union to overcome the United States. He believes, however, that this will happen in a more distant future than indicated by us. He questions the feasibility of our plans, but facts, life itself eloquently show that he is not right.

I shall not polemize with Mr.Kennedy. Simple calculations will suffice. The volume of the Soviet Union's industrial production accounted for 60 per cent of the American output in 1960. The average annual rates of industrial growth in our country equalled 10.6 per cent during the past 16 years. If the Soviet industrial output continues growing annually by 10 per cent, in 1966 the Soviet Union will produce 106 per cent of the present-day American output and in 1970 ,156 per cent. (Applause.)

To grow 56 per cent in 10 years, United States industrial output must increase 4.5 per cent annually. But even if the Americans succeed in ensuring an annual increment of 4.5 per cent, as Mr.Kennedy would like it to be, we shall overtake them just the same in 1970. (Applause.)

If the Americans retain the rate of their industrial output at 2 per cent, which they averaged in the postwar years, the Soviet Union will outstrip America already in 1967. If American industrial output increases by three per cent annually, we shall leave them behind in 1968.

Approximately the same figures could be adduced with regard to the prospects for agricultural development in our two countries.

Forecasts on economic development arouse most of the arguments, of course. I am sceptical, for instance, about Mr.Kennedy's statements which he made during the election campaign, criticizing Eisenhower for the low rates of American economic development. He promised an economic upswing and lower unemployment with the advent of the new administration in the United States.

Back in those days, speaking to Mrs. Roosevelt, I said that if the Democratic Party came to power and Mr.Kennedy became President, he would hardly be able, in my opinion, to achieve more in the economic sphere than Eisenhower's government. As a matter of fact, this is exactly what happened. Look, for instance, at the unemployment. Last October the United States had three and a half million jobless. This June, eight months later, the number of unemployed did not decline, but increased to five and a half million.

Under the capitalist system the economic development depends very little on the President. Every capitalist disposes of his capitals himself, throws the workers out into the street if this benefits him.

Such are the laws of capitalism, draconic laws that still operate, however. The socialist system, of course, does not and cannot have all this.

We can argue about the prospects of economic development in this or other state. We can make various guesses, but these arguments are not a reason for war among states.

So, let's allow history, Mr.Kennedy, to determine who is making correct forecasts and who is erring. (Applause.)

An important role in the development of good relations among nations is played by economic, cultural and other contacts, and the Soviet Union is striving to develop them. We have favourable trade relations with Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, and West Germany. This trade benefits both sides.

Our trade relations with other countries are developing, too. But this cannot be said about trade with the United States. Actually we do not have any trade with the United States and this is not to the advantage of the two countries. I should like to be understood correctly. We come out for the development of trade with the United States of America not because we cannot do without it. The Soviet Union will not only keep going, but will continue its rapid advance, fulfilling and overfulfilling the drafted economic plans.

But is it possible to speak earnestly about the improvement of relations and the creation of an atmosphere of confidence between the two mightiest powers in the world if one of them pursues a policy of economic discrimination with regard to another? Of course not. If the United States had displayed common sense and given up the policy of artificially restricting trade relations with the Soviet Union, this would have promoted the improvement of friendly relations, the improvement of the international climate.

The Soviet policy is a policy of peaceful coexistence, a policy of economic competition. This is why we tell President Kennedy, General de Gaulle and Mr. Macmillan: Let's compete in this sphere. This would be sensible. If we were to conclude a peace treaty with Germany, shake hands and declare that we shall devote our efforts to economic competition, all the people of the world would heave a sigh of relief. This would be a good prologue for further talks and the implementation of mankind's age-old dream for a lasting peace on earth. We are ready for this and we offer our hand to the Western governments. (Stormy applause.)

Comrades, the Soviet Army has scored many glorious victories over the enemies of our Homeland. Today it is the most up-to-date, mightiest army of the world. The technical basis of our Soviet Army, Navy and Airforce has been radically changed during the past few years, thanks to the concern displayed by the Party and the people. Our Armed Forces will go on developing and improving continuously, will go on being equipped with the mightiest weapons, until a general disarmament plan is adopted.

However, no matter how up-to-date and strong military techniques are, they can meet their end only if placed in reliable and skilful hands of servicemen who are ideologically steeled, courageous, and boundlessly loyal to their Homeland. (Applause.)

Responsibility for the fulfilment of the tasks confronting the Soviet Armed Forces rests, above all, on the officer cadres. To be up to the mark, the officers must persistently master the Marxist-Leninist theory.

A Soviet officer must always and everywhere be a model of political maturity, high morality, and must discharge his military duty impeccably. At the same time high and constant exactingness is needed in the Armed Forces more than anywhere else, along with the iron will of the commanders, unbending abidance by the principle of undivided command. To command means to be an organizer of the masses, to guide the people towards skilfully the set goals.

Officers must sensibly use their great rights to raise battle preparedness, to strengthen discipline and order in units and ships.

Military discipline is called the mother of victory. And it must be said that the experience of war fully confirms this truth. New equipment and new types of weapons far from reducing, immeasurably raise the importance of military discipline.

In our time an officer must have high military-technical training, must possess a wide range of theoretical views. He can successfully discharge his duty, if he keeps abreast with the development of military theory and practice. Suffice it to give oneself airs for a short time, to be among those lagging behind. Critical attitude towards the results of one's work, irreconsilability towards shortcomings, honesty and truthfulness to the party and the people must be inherent qualities of all our officers. (Applause)

The Soviet Army has always been strong thanks to the consciousness of its personnel, allegiance to the sacred ideals of our Party. A high level of ideological belief of the soldiers, their readiness honestly to fight for the Soviet Homeland, for our people, for the lofty ideals of socialism, constitute the great advantage of our army over the armies of the capitalist states.

It is imperative to continue persistently rearing the soldiers on the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, in a spirit of Soviet patriotism, friendship between peoples and proletarian internationalism.

The strength of our army, created under the guidance of the great Lenin, lies in its unbreakable bonds with the people. It owes all its successes and victories to the Communist Party. Guidance by the Party, its constant solicitude for the consolidation of the Armed Forces, is the corner-stone of military development, the strengthening of the defence potential of the Soviet Union.

The enhancing role and influence of Party organizations in the Army and the Navy must continue to be the foundation of our entire military policy. It is the task of commanders, political workers and all chiefs in their activity to draw skilfully on Party organizations, steadily to channel the creative energy and activity of Communists and Young Communist League members into raising the battle preparedness of the Soviet Armed Forces.

Difficult and honorable is the work of our officers. They bear the full responsibility for their subordinates, for their education and training. The necessity of constant battle preparedness of troops demands intense work of commanders and political workers and of the entire personnel of our Armed Forces.

[redacted]

The people have entrusted their Armed Forces with vigilantly standing guard over our great Soviet Motherland, which is confidently advancing towards communism. Show yourself worthy of this great trust. (Prolonged applause.)

Dear comrades, may I once again heartily congratulate you on graduating from the military academies and wish you big successes in your noble work in the name of peace and the security of our socialist Motherland. (Stormy applause.)

Long live the powerful and prosperous Soviet Homeland! (Stormy applause.)

Long live the gallant Soviet Armed Forces and their officer cadres! (Stormy applause.)

Glory to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the organizer and inspirer of all our victories! (Stormy, prolonged applause. All rise. Cheers in honour of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government.)

(All Sunday Papers. In full.)

[redacted]

7/19/61

PLAIN TEXT

AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)(41)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

On 7/17/61, NY 694-S* furnished to SAS ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON and GEORGE EDWIN JONES documents which are described below.

These documents were obtained by informant during his stay in Moscow, USSR, from 6/21/61-7/12/61. These documents were furnished to informant by NIKOLAI VLADIMIROVICH MOSTOVITS, Head of North and South American Section of International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CCCPSU) and ALEKSEI ANDREEVICH GRECHUKHIN, Assistant to MOSTOVITS.

1. Document entitled "Reception Held By Central Committee of CPSU and Council of Ministers of USSR for Graduates of Military Academies"(7/10/61). Two Photostats of this document are enclosed herewith for the Bureau and one Photostat is enclosed for Chicago.

2. Document entitled "Speech by N. S. Khrushchov at the Meeting of Representatives of Moscow Public to Mark the 20th Anniversary of the Beginning of The Great Patriotic War" (6/22/61). Two Photostats of this document are enclosed herewith for the Bureau and one Photostat is enclosed for Chicago.

3 - Bureau (100-428091)(Encls. 8)(RM)
1 - Chicago (134-46-sub B)(Encls. 4)(RM)
(1) - New York (134-91)(Inv)(41)
1 - New York (100-134637)(41)
1 - Supervisor (41)

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134-91-2604

SEARCHED
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AUG 3 1961
FBI—NEW YORK

3. Document entitled "Joint Soviet-Korean Communique" (7/11/61). Two Photostats of this document are enclosed herewith for the Bureau and one Photostat is enclosed for Chicago.

4. Document entitled "Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, President and Head of the Republic of Ghana, Arrives in Moscow" (7/11/61). Two Photostats of this document are enclosed herewith for the Bureau and one Photostat is enclosed for Chicago.

The informant has advised that with reference to dissemination of enclosed documents there appears to be no objection to the dissemination of these documents since the documents would be in the possession of other individuals.

HEROIC EXPLOIT OF THE SOVIET PEOPLE

(20th Anniversary of the Beginning of the Great Patriotic War)

Y.Boltin, G.Deborin, N.Pavlenko

German imperialism committed a grave crime 20 years ago on June 22, 1941, when it launched its armed forces in a surprise and perfidious attack against the Soviet Union, the great peace-loving socialist power. On a historical plane, hitlerism doomed itself when it launched this invasion...

The Communist Party sent its best people to the fighting fronts where they cemented the army units and turned them into a solid and indestructible alloy of human will and heroism. The Party guided the guerrilla and anti-fascist movement in the enemy rear, rallied millions of Soviet people to heroic, all-out effort to help the men at the front-lines, and transformed the entire country into a single military camp to which the interests of the fighting forces were paramount.

Millions of Soviet people gave their lives to defeat the enemy. We mourn them and remember and revere their exploit. "The glory of the valorous sons and daughters of our people, who shed their blood and gave their lives in the struggle for freedom and independence of their mother country in the Civil and Great Patriotic Wars will live for ever," Nikita Sergeyevich Khrushchov said. "The Soviet people are deeply grateful to all who heroically repulsed the enemy and spared no effort to consolidate the might of their country and to stand guard over the peaceful endeavour of the Soviet people."

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Fascist Germany occupied an advantageous strategic position when she started the war against the Soviet Union. The Blitzkriegs in Europe sharply built up her economic and military potential. Her economic resources plus those of the satellites - the countries which were occupied by Germany and fell under her influence - enabled her in 1941 to boost coal and steel output by more than one-half in comparison with 1937. The nazis seized a sizeable amount of materiel in the countries they overran. They took possession of materiel of six Norwegian, 18 Dutch, 22 Belgian, 12 British and 92 French divisions. About half of all the German divisions were provided with French trophy lorries.

The rout of France and a greatly-weakened Britain meant so much less danger in the German rear. By occupying Norway and drawing Finland in the hitlerite coalition, the fascists made certain of the northern flank of their bloc. The seizure of Yugoslavia and Greece, transformation of Rumania and Bulgaria into German vassals, and the conclusion of a treaty with Turkey led to a reliable southern strategic flank for nazi Germany.

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In the first 21 months of World War II Germany doubled her ground forces and air force. In the period of September 1,1939-June 1, 1941, the number of fascist Germany's divisions rose from 103 to 214, that of tanks, from 3,200 to 5,640, and of warplanes, from 4,405 to 10,000.

The nazi leaders, having scored swift and easy victories in Europe, believed that the time was ripe for them to tackle their main task of routing the Soviet Union. The German imperialists considered the Soviet Union as the main obstacle on the road to world domination. Hitler told his top-ranking associates at a conference on July 30, 1940, that if Russia were smashed then Britain's last chance would disappear and Germany would then rule Europe and the Balkans... Therefore, Hitler declared, Russia must be eliminated.

The German General Staff counted on routing the armed forces of the Soviet state and scoring a victory in one high-speed campaign. Fascist Germany's war machine basked in the glory of invincibility...

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The entry of the Soviet Union into the war thrust on it by nazi Germany was an event of tremendous world significance. The fate of the whole of mankind was decided on the Soviet-German front which became the decisive front of World War II.

We all remember that the beginning of the Great Patriotic War proved most unfavourable for the Soviet Union and its armed forces. The sudden and strong blow dealt on June 22, 1941, by Hitler's huge armada against the Soviet troops, not alerted for combat, gave fascist Germany certain military advantages. The Luftwaffe destroyed a large number of Soviet planes grounded at airfields and reigned supreme in the air. The German ground forces, supported by their air force, inflicted a heavy defeat on the troops in our border areas and advanced inland. The enemy command gained strategic initiative throughout the entire length of the front.

The Soviet army suffered great losses of manpower and materiel in the early period of the war. The enemy seized a big part of Soviet territory possessing considerable manpower and material resources. All this, naturally, made the fight against the fascist bloc extremely difficult.

There were several reasons for the defeats sustained by the Soviet troops in the beginning of the war. It was most important on the eve of the war to combine utmost caution with regard to possible provocations, and strict observance of the Soviet-German non-aggression treaty with defence measures and the alerting of the troops in the border areas. This was not done because of J.V.Stalin's gross miscalculation in evaluating the military and political situation existing just before the start of the invasion. He was much too sure of the strength of the pact concluded with nazi Germany. Even on the morning

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of June 22, when the war had already begun and enemy bombs and shells were destroying Soviet towns and villages and killing people and Panzer units were rumbling across our fields, Stalin still believed that this was probably provocative moves by certain German generals.

Executive officers in the People's Commissariat of Defence, in their turn, committed a number of errors. Although they had information of preparations of the German fascist troops for attack, these officials did not take all steps to build up the required grouping of troops in the frontier areas and to alert them for combat.

It was in this trying position that the Soviet forces heroically defended their territory in the opening days of the war. Colonel-General Halder, chief of the Wehrmacht ground forces general staff, wrote in his diary on June 29: "The Russians everywhere are fighting to the last man, and only in a few places are they surrendering themselves... A striking feature is that mostly in captured batteries only a small part of the gun crews are taken prisoner. Part of the Russians fight until they are killed, while the rest disguise themselves in peasant clothing in an effort to break through our encirclement..."

The political aims of the Soviet Union in the Great Patriotic War, set forth by the Communist Party, expressed the fundamental and vital interests not only of the Soviet people, but of all peace-loving peoples in the world as well. These aims were to inflict defeat on German imperialism, help the peoples of Europe to free themselves from fascist slavery, destroy the nazi regime completely and forever and create conditions for the peoples to proceed along the road of peace, freedom and progress. These noble, clear-cut and just aims of the Soviet state won broad support among all opponents of fascism. The Soviet Union's consistent and uncompromising fight to achieve these aims instilled confidence in the nations of the world in the rout of German imperialism and liberation of the enslaved peoples from the yoke of fascism.

The West European states, which earlier set hitlerite Germany against the socialist state, now had to agree to cooperate with the Soviet Union in order to save themselves. However, in the course of the war, too, the U.S. and British ruling circles pursued selfish class aims of weakening the strength of the socialist country, undermining the might of their German rival, and establish their own world hegemony.

The entry of the Soviet Union into the war was the chief and decisive factor of the transformation of World War II into an anti-fascist struggle, into a war of liberation. First of all, the front of battle against German imperialism broadened, and the Soviet Union headed the whole liberation movement of the peoples against fascism. All the freedom-loving peoples realised that the Soviet Union was that decisive force which could

deliver them from nazi oppression and bondage. Maurice Thorez wrote: "The hitlerite aggression against the Soviet Union gave strong impetus to our Resistance movement, and especially in organising an armed struggle. All the patriots realised that a new correlation of forces had been established and that now a victory for the supporters of peace and independence of the peoples was secured... After June 22, 1941, the patriots said to themselves: 'We are not alone; with such an ally as the Soviet people, we can gain freedom, we can win.'"

The attack of nazi Germany against the USSR and the heroic struggle of the Soviet people led to a great outburst of anti-nazi sentiments in Britain. The U.S. and British ruling circles could not help but heed the sympathy expressed by their peoples for the Soviet Union, who withstood the main impact of the fascist aggression.

In no other theatre of war did the nazi machine encounter such fierce resistance or did the invaders suffer such heavy losses as on the Soviet-German front. According to Colonel-General Halder's estimates, the first five and a half months of war against the USSR cost the hitlerite forces 775,000 killed, wounded, and missing. And these casualties were suffered by the invading army at the height of its successful operations and when it fully held the strategic initiative.

The Soviet Army succeeded in stopping the enemy on all directions of the Soviet-German front in the autumn of 1941 at the price of tremendous effort and sacrifices, a fact which greatly influenced the whole progress of the fighting. The road of the aggressors was blocked for the first time in the history of the Second World War. The German fascist army failed to carry out its strategic plans. The victory of the Soviet troops on the approaches to Moscow in the winter of 1941-1942 was of vital significance: it was the first major defeat inflicted on the Wehrmacht in World War II, which completely smashed the plan of a Blitzkrieg and the myth of the nazi army's invincibility. Of exceptionally great importance was the rout of the German troops at Stalingrad and on the Kursk Bulge. The victory in the Battle of Stalingrad was the decisive turning-point of the armed struggle and the start of a fundamental change not only in the course of the Great Patriotic War but also of the world war. Nazi Lieutenant-General Siegfried Westphal wrote: "The defeat at Stalingrad horrified both the German people and the German army. Never before in the history of Germany had so many troops come to such a terrible end."

The victory at Kursk saw the Soviet armed forces finally, after a lengthy battle, gain and consolidate the strategic initiative. The German fascist command had to switch over for good to strategic defence after losing here, whereas the Soviet command was now able to impose its will on the enemy and freely choose the hour, place and direction for fresh blows at enemy groupings. Nevertheless, the enemy was still sufficiently strong, and heavier blows were necessary to crush them altogether. They were delivered by the Soviet Army at Kiev, in the Donbas, on the approaches to Leningrad, in the Crimea, at Minsk and Lvov, in the Baltic republics, at Kishinev, Budapest and Belgrade, and in East Prussia and Poland.

The war brought forth from the ranks of the Soviet armed forces a galaxy of highly-gifted commanders, reared by the Communist Party.

The Great Patriotic War ended in the spring of 1945 with the Soviet troops scoring victories in Vienna, Berlin and Prague. The fascist state, set up by the nazis, crumbled under the powerful blows of the Soviet Army, supported by the advance of the U.S., British and French troops and the forces of the Resistance movement...

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The Great Patriotic War lasted for almost four years, three years of which saw the Soviet troops fighting the fascist hordes single-handed. The Soviet Union and its armed forces bore the main brunt of the war against nazi Germany. The Soviet Army destroyed the strongest imperialist war machine of that time and freed many European countries, including the German people, from fascist enslavement.

The armed forces of the USSR inflicted heavy losses on the enemy in the fierce fighting. The German General Staff estimated that three years of war on the Soviet-German front led to the loss of 6,061,000 killed, wounded, taken prisoner, and missing. Irrevocable losses of this total added up to 4,439,000. In this connection, it is important to point out that German statistics discount the number of men with light wounds and recuperating in base hospitals. Thus, in three years of war, i.e., till the opening of the second front in West Europe, Germany's losses in manpower were double the fascist ground army which invaded the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941. The nazi armed forces lost no less than 10 million for the whole period of fighting on the Soviet-German front, this does not include the number of prisoners who later returned home. As many as 62,000 Luftwaffe aircraft and large quantities of other materiel were destroyed. This was the price the German people had to pay for the criminal military actions carried out by German imperialism.

In scope, tensity and results the heroic struggle of the Soviet armed forces is incomparable with the fighting on other fronts of World War II. They fought on a vast front, stretching from 3,000 to 6,000 kilometres, for 1,418 days, whereas the West European front never exceeded 800 kilometres and lasted for only 338 days. Fighting on the 300-km front in Italy continued for only 663 days. There were no less than 1,320 days of continuous fighting on the Soviet-German front as compared to 293 and 492 on the West European and Italian fronts, respectively. Whereas the enemy concentrated from 190 to 268 divisions on the Soviet-German front, he kept from seven to 31 in Italy and from 60 to 75 in West Europe.

The second front in Europe existed for only 11 months. Of course, it did play a positive role in speeding up the rout of fascist Germany, but at the same time it is clear that this

front would have been far more important had it been opened in 1942 or even in the beginning of 1943. Victory could have come much faster then and with less sacrifices.

The Soviet people appreciate the aid given them by the United States and Britain, although their military assistance was not so effective and there were even attempts on the part of certain circles to break up this cooperation in the war. In spite of the differences between the allies, the successful efforts of the anti-fascist coalition proved most convincingly that cooperation between states with different social systems was possible and that the method of negotiations in settling outstanding issues was effective. Of great positive significance were the meetings between the heads of governments of the Soviet Union, the United States of America and Britain in Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam where agreement of both parties on cardinal problems of that period was reached with appropriate methods...

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The war started by German fascism on June 22, 1941, to wipe out the Soviet Union did not end at all as world imperialism had expected. The fascist empire, which Hitler boasted would last for a millenium, fell apart under the powerful blows of the Soviet armed forces. The calculations of the reactionaries in the U.S.A. and Britain on the elimination of the socialist system in our country, disintegration of its state system, and loss of its position as a great power, fell through. Instead of perishing or growing weak, the Soviet Union steeled itself and emerged on the international scene as the greatest factor of contemporary times.

The victory scored by the Soviet people and their armed forces over German fascism determined the fate of generations. It was of tremendous importance not only for our people, but for the whole of humankind as well. This triumph brought national and social freedom to the peoples of a number of European and Asian countries. The correlation of forces on the world scene changed radically. The field of activity for the forces of imperialism narrowed considerably, and a number of countries fell out of the capitalist system. States appeared in Europe and Asia which took to the bright road of socialism. A mighty camp of socialism was formed, which today unites more than one-third of the global population.

In defining the main laws of the modern epoch, the Meeting of the Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties in Moscow in November, 1960, declared that "the world socialist system is becoming the decisive factor in the development of society.". The time has gone for ever when imperialism thrust its will on the peoples and ruthlessly plundered the natural riches of Asia, Africa and Latin America, when it could with impunity use military force to suppress the will of the peoples for national liberation and social progress. The peoples of colonial countries awakened and rose in struggle.

The transformation of socialism into a world system and the disintegration of the colonial empires knocked down the capitalist wall around the Soviet Union. There are no forces in the world today which could bring the Soviet Union back to the fold of capitalism, which could crush the socialist camp. As pointed out by the 21st Congress of the CPSU, the triumph of socialism in our country was not only complete, but final as well. This manifested another vital law of our era, on the strength of which everything new and progressive in the fight against the old, reactionary social set-up comes plunging through to win irrespective of the intentions of the ruling exploiting classes of the capitalist countries.

The victory of the Soviet Union and the democratic forces in the Second World War put the matter of world peace on a new and more solid basis. A vigorous struggle for peace is being waged by the entire socialist camp, by many young Afro-Asian states, which have sprung up on the rubble of colonial empires, and by broad sections of the working people in the capitalist countries. The forces of reaction and the ruling circles of the imperialist powers, counting on a third world war to halt the irreversible development of socialism and national independence of peoples, to turn back the wheel of history and restore the times of undivided domination of the world by capitalism, are coming out against peace as before.

Their hopes and efforts are in vain, yet the reactionary groupings of the imperialist powers, and, first of all, of the United States of America, do not want to see and understand what is happening in reality. They are clinging desperately to the old, continue to promote the same policy which led to war a quarter of a century ago, and now threaten humanity with new and more horrifying calamities.

The U.S. imperialists, seeking "world leadership," today represent the main force and organising centre of reaction and aggression. The warmongers have entangled the capitalist part of the world in a complicated system of military alliances and aggressive blocs. They have covered the globe with a network of military bases aimed for attack against the USSR and the other socialist countries and are stockpiling missiles and nuclear weapons, and continuing a conventional arms race. The atomaniacs not only keep the world in constant tension, but also create new hotbeds of conflict all the time. They are to blame for the three years of bloodshed in Korea and the conflagration of war which raged in Vietnam for almost a decade. They have seized Taiwan and continue to preserve a hotbed of war in the Far East till this day.

The imperialists tried through military intervention to prevent Egypt's national self-determination. They caused a fratricidal war to break out in the Congo and Laos and a bloody war to flare up in Algeria. They organised the aggression against heroic Cuba which fell through with such disgrace.

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It is the fault of the imperialist states, and, primarily, of the United States, that a peace treaty with Germany has still not be signed 16 years after the end of the war, that West Berlin has been turned into a "front-line" city and a seat of subversive acts and provocations against the USSR and the other socialist countries.

The U.S. imperialists have learned nothing from history. Once again, as in the 20's, they are spending a great deal of energy and money to revive the military potential of German revanchism. The Bonn state is intensely building up the Bundeswehr and providing it with weapons of mass annihilation. Federal Germany's armed forces are being restored as an army of imperialist aggression, which has inherited the worst features of the Kaiser's army and Hitler's Wehrmacht. West German militarism, revived under the flag of "anti-communism," already has the strongest economy in capitalist Europe.

Back in 1956, Chancellor Adenauer characterised the Federal Republic's remilitarisation aims in the following words: "We'll talk with the Soviet Union, but only when we are armed to the teeth." Three years later the Bonn generals demanded atomic weapons, and the Chancellor asserted that "nothing will remain of the Soviet Union if the matter reaches the point of an atomic war." West Germany was shocked in January, 1960, by brazen sorties of the fascists. In those days Adenauer again unambiguously defined the foreign policy aims of his government: "I believe that God has assigned the German people a special role in our present turbulent times to serve as a bulwark of the West against the great influence coming from the East."

All this not only outwardly resembles the ravings of Hitler, Goebbels and Rosenberg, but is also actually the same viewpoint which crumbled completely in the last war.

Just like the defeat in the First World War failed to sober up the German monopolists, so did the heavier defeat of Germany in the Second World War fail to bridle the ruling circles of West Germany and give them a drop of sense...

The objective laws of development, due to which the aggressors cannot fully carry out their evil plans of unleashing a new war, are telling in the fight of mankind for peace and against the aggressive forces of imperialism. The imperialists' reactionary policy is invariably meeting with growing and more organised resistance of the masses. War is no longer a fatal inevitability; humankind is capable of curbing aggression and preserving peace. This possibility is secured by the might and peace policy of the Soviet Union and the rest of the socialist camp, the swelling ranks of the world communist and working-class movement, the continuing liberation of peoples of the colonial and dependent countries, and the steady increase of the army of peace champions in all countries and the higher degree of their consciousness and organisation.

The Soviet Union stands ready as always to return to its relation with the U.S.A. and Britain which existed before the war and to lend cooperation in strengthening peace, prevention of war and disarmament, the problems which are of vital importance to the peoples.

The Soviet state and its armed forces, covered with glory of their great victories, are an insurmountable obstacle in the path of aggression. The impressive parade in Red Square on May 1, 1961, showed that the military strength of our country was exceptionally great. As Marshal of the Soviet Union R.Y.Malinovsky, USSR Minister of Defence, declared: "...The Soviet Army and Navy possess the most perfect weapons that surpass anything ever possessed by an army."

The Soviet Union is marching in the front ranks of world technology. From the first sputnik to the first manned space flight by a Soviet man, a Communist, Yuri Gagarin — this is the chain of convincing and irrefutable facts confirming the supremacy of our country in science and engineering, a chain of striking proofs of the invincible and viable strength of socialism and its inexhaustible possibilities for creative effort.

The imperialists, blind with class hatred and seized with the fear of the inevitable collapse of their decaying system, can resort to most desperate acts, right up to the unleashing of an annihilatory missile and nuclear war. The peace champions the world over realise that their task is to avert this danger and to put the madmen into strait-jackets.

Our people are fully determined to prevent a new war. They are marking the 20th anniversary of the beginning of the last war with a new nation-wide upsurge evoked by preparations for the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, which will arm the Party with a great programme of struggle for the complete victory of communism in the USSR.

(Kommunist, No. 8, 1961. Abridged)

THE END

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THE LENINIST NATIONAL POLICY IN ACTION

M. Musayev

The progress made by the socialist nations of the USSR and particularly by the peoples of Central Asia, which have advanced in a matter of 2-3 decades from age-old backwardness to tremendous heights, is so obvious that even most rabid ill-wishers of the Soviet Union are unable to refute it. Suffice it to recall, in this connection, the statements by such U.S. figures as Averell Harriman and member of the Supreme Court Douglas, who can hardly be suspected of sympathy for the Soviet Union. Despite this bias, however, they were compelled to acknowledge, after their visit to Uzbekistan, the remarkable progress achieved there in the development of the national economy, social relations, culture, in all walks of life.

What can be said of foreign leaders who come to the USSR, and though biased against communism, nonetheless approach everything they see without particular prejudice? They wish to assess impartially, to understand what is happening in the country of which so much is being written, mostly in extremely negative light, by the bourgeois press, controlled as it is by big capitalist monopolies and framing public opinion at the bidding of its bosses. It is superfluous to mention in this connection, of course, the quite numerous delegations coming to our country with the sole desire to get first-hand information about the new world, to see socialism in action, to feel it tangibly, to breathe its air.

Some 900 delegations from different countries of the world visited Uzbekistan during the three past years. Irrespective of views and social standing, their members, as a rule, expressed surprise and admiration at everything they saw in the republic. It is perfectly natural that they are most impressed by her tremendous economic and cultural progress: the textile mill; the Tashkent Farm Machinery Works; the Great Ferghana Canal; the Farkhad Hydro-Electric Station; the state farms of the Hungry Steppe, whose very name shows that this had once been a sterile desert; hundreds of collective farms with their orchards and boundless cotton fields; the new schools and theatres. "How could you do all this so quickly?" - this is the question they ask invariably after a few days in Uzbekistan.

To answer it we must look down from the summits scaled by the Uzbek people today upon their recent past, must behold their present life and the prospects opening up before them in the period of allout construction of communism.

From Patriarchal-Feudal Relations to a Modern Socialist Economy

May be due to frequent usage or because of the simplicity with which their meaning is expressed, such truths as "everything is learnt from comparison" and "the present cannot be understood without the past" are regarded as trivial. Nevertheless, it is impossible to dispense with them when relating about the present-day Uzbekistan.

The pre-revolutionary industry of Uzbekistan consisted of a few hundred semi-handicraft works and factories. Today, the republic has over seven thousand industrial enterprises, including 1,300 big modern factories and plants, equipped with the latest machinery and machine-tools. In 1960 they turned out 20 times more manufactured goods than Uzbekistan's gross industrial output of 1913. The following figures will show what this means in comparison with our foreign neighbours: Pakistan, whose population is 10 times bigger than that of Uzbekistan, has slightly more than 2,500 industrial enterprises, only 150 of which are really factories and plants, the rest being backward handicraft workshops. Iran, whose population is 2.5 times bigger, has only 400 industrial enterprises of the modern type.

Pre-revolutionary Uzbekistan could boast of very few industries, chiefly cotton-processing, cream- and soap-making. Today, the republic has more than 70 industries, including iron and steel, engineering, chemical, coal, oil, gas and textile. More than 90 big factories and over 200 machine tool plants and workshops are now engaged in machine-building and metal-working. They produce tractors, excavators, diesel engines, machinery for the textile, cotton-ginning and other branches of industry, for cotton-harvesting and irrigation, trailers, cotton drills, cultivators, fertilizers and a wide range of other machinery. The republic produces radio-technical equipment and medical instruments.

The industry operates on a modern power basis -- the basis of electricity. Uzbekistan holds fifth place in the USSR as regards the amount of generated electricity. Now the republic produces 4.8 times more electric power in one day than during a whole year before the revolution. The Seven-Year Plan provides for the construction of several electric stations with a total capacity of over one and a half million kw or approximately as much as had to be commissioned throughout the country during its first 10-15 years under the Plan for the Electrification of Russia (GOELRO). At the end of 1965 the output of electric power will amount to some 12 thousand million kwh, meaning that Uzbekistan's per capita electric power output will exceed the present level of power generation in such economically advanced capitalist countries as Italy and Japan.

Manifested vividly in the industrialization of Uzbekistan was the life-giving friendship of the Soviet peoples, their common interest in the rapid economic development of the national fringelands of the Union. The socialist industry, of which the Uzbek people are legitimately proud, is, indeed, a result of the joint labour of many peoples of the USSR and, above all, a result of the Russian people's huge assistance. The Kuibyshev District Electric Station, the Chirchik Electrochemical works and many other factories were built by the Uzbek working people with the active participation of Moscow, Leningrad, Ivanovo workers and specialists. The Orel Textile Engineering Plant has built for the second stage of the Tashkent Textile Mills the latest scutching machines, Leningrad and Tula have supplied it with up-to-date hackling and continuous spinning machines.

The Moscow and Ivanovo textile experts shared their experience with Uzbek workers.

An important upshot of Uzbekistan's industrial development was the emergence of the national working class. Today, the republic's national economy employs one and a half million factory and office workers. Whereas in 1913 there were only 3. workers per thousand of Uzbekistan's population, today the figu is 31, taking into account only the factory workers. It is superfluous to stress the tremendous significance this had and has for the socialist development of the republic. The working class is a mighty political force, which, directed by the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, rallies the working people of the republic to the solution of political and economic tasks, brings them up in a spirit of Soviet patriotism and socialist internationalism.

The republic's industrial workers have started a broad socialist emulation in honour of the forthcoming 22nd CPSU Congress. They have pledged themselves to fulfil the 1961 program ahead of schedule, on December 26th, to top the labour productivity assignments by 11%, to develop 150 new types of machines and instruments, to master the production of 660 new commodities. They have decided to produce 30,000,000 rubles worth of above-plan goods by the opening of the Congress. Besides the traditional emulation with the industry of Ivanovo region, the Uzbek workers have started emulating with the working people of the Byelorussian Economic Area.

The industrial growth of the Uzbek Republic continues: many new projects have been commissioned during the first two years of the Seven-Year Plan. New branches of industry are developing at a fast pace, especially such promising ones as the oil and gas industries: the output of oil during the Seven-Year Plan will grow 130% and that of gas -- to 19.5 thous million cubic meters. The chemical industry will grow even more: its gross output will jump more than 4-fold; the republic will produce 100% more mineral fertilizers than now. The output of industrial production in 1965 will increase 30 times over as compared to 1913.

Really staggering are the changes wrought in agriculture, which now comprises 947 collective and 179 state farms! Much of the farm work is done with machines. Their park includes today scores of thousands of tractors, harvester combines, cotton-picking and other farm machines. The republic's progress in farm mechanization, as compared with the foreign nations of the East, is borne out by the following figures: in Uzbekistan there is one tractor for approximately every 50 hectares of farmland, while in Pakistan there is one machine per 8,000 hectares, in India - 12,000 hectares and Iran - 17,000 hectares.

Work was started back in the 20's to improve water supply, to reconstruct the existing and build new irrigation systems. Scores of canals have already been cut, the Great Ferghana Canal (reconstructed in the post-war years), several big reservoirs, including the Katta-Kurgan, watering thousands of hectares in Bokhara and Samarkand regions, have been built.

All this has permitted the republic to bring under plough scores of thousands of hectares of new land. The first section of the Hunger Steppe canal was put into service almost on the eve of the New Year, 1961. This biggest water canal of the republic will irrigate tens of thousands of hectares in formerly arid areas.

The gorwth of agriculture's productive forces can best be judged by the output of cotton, which is cultivated in varying degrees almost everywhere in the republic. As compared with 1913, the best year for cotton-growing in tsarist Russia, Uzbekistan's cotton-growing areas have grown more than three times over, cotton yields have increased more than 50%, and total cotton harvests have jumped five times over. Today, Uzbekistan's cotton output equals the combined crop of such cotton-producing countries as Brazil, Pakistan, Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Afghanistan, Salvador, Greece, Italy and Spain. As regards gross cotton production Uzbekistan holds third place in the world after the United States and China, but in per capita production it has by far outstripped 34 cotton-growing countries of the world, including the United States of America.

Cotton is dubbed the "sun's child." The cotton-growers of all countries believe that the longer the sun shines, the more cotton will be harvested. The sun leaves Uzbekistan much earlier in autumn than the southern areas of the United States. Nonetheless, the working people of Uzbekistan harvest on the average three times more cotton per hectare than the American plantators, while the foremost collective farms -- six times more.

Transition to progressive methods of cotton cultivation, this cardinal problem, is being solved successfully. In 1960 most of the cotton was planted by the square-pocket method; two-row cultivation was carried out on an area of 1,205,000 hectares (some 90% of all the crop area). In one day the machines now harvest 12-13 thousand tons of raw cotton, replacing 250-300 thousand farmers. More than 500,000 tons of cotton were harvested in 1960 by means of cotton-picking machines.

A lot could be said about the republic's advanced cattle-breeding, its silk-growing, which is becoming a major branch of agriculture: last year, for instance, Uzbekistan produced some 15,000 tons of silk cocoons. In silk-breeding Uzbekistan holds third place in the world after Japan and China. It produces 50% more cocoons than Iran, Turkey, Brazil, France, Greece, Spain and the Lebanon taken together. And not the least role is played in the republic's agriculture by horticulture, viticulture and rice-growing. Persistently eliminating shortcomings, tapping latent reserves, the collective and state farms of Uzbekistan are now working to give the country 3,000,200 tons of cotton.

In the republic's tremendous economic growth, which constitutes the basis of progress in all other spheres of life, in the fact that its national economy relies not only on the latest achievements of science and technology, but is socialist in nature, we see the embodiment of Lenin's great prevision that in conditions of proletarian dictatorship the underdeveloped countries can achieve socialism skipping the capitalist stag

of development. With the help of the fraternal peoples of the Soviet Union, the Uzbeks have built in the shortest historical period their own socialist economy and are now working together with all the Soviet nations, on the creation of the material and technical foundation of communism.

Uzbekistan Has Outstripped the Advanced Capitalist Countries in Culture

A cultural revolution! One must clearly imagine Uzbekistan's past to understand what this meant for it. There was not a single higher institution of learning before the revolution in all of the Turkestan Territory, which comprised practically all the area of the present-day Central Asian republics, including Kirghizia and also Kazakhstan. There was actually no national intelligentsia, except a handful of petty officials and a few offsprings of the rich Pre-revolutionary Uzbekistan had only 165 non-specialised schools with an enrollment of 17,500 children, i.e. 40 school children per 10,000 of the population. There were only 128 doctors in all the Turkestan Territory and two hospital beds per 10,000 inhabitants.

What are the seats of science and culture today in the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republics? Two universities and 31 institutions of higher learning with an enrolment of 101,000. They train graduates in 115 specialities. An electrotechnical communications institute, an institute of physical culture and a third medical institute have been opened in the republic during the past few years alone. The net of higher educational establishments is supplemented by 79 special secondary schools and other secondary specialized institutions of learning.

As regards the number of students per 10,000 of its population, Soviet Uzbekistan has outstripped France almost three times over, Italy - more than three times over, the FRG - four times over, Spain - five times over, Turkey - almost eight times over, and Iran - almost seventeen times over. The Central Asian Polytechnical Institute alone has an enrolment roughly equalling all the student body of Iran!

This year more than one and a half million people attend all types of school in the republic, which now has 1,791 students and school children per 10,000 of the population. This figure is higher than in modern Britain, France, the FRG, Italy and the other European states, almost treble that in Pakistan or Iran. A new trend in education are the boarding schools. The republic already has 84 of them with 18,000 school children

Conditions have been created for the education of all nationalities in their native language. School is taught in Uzbek, Russian, Karakalpakian, Kazakh, Tajik, Kirghizian and Turkmen languages. The parents and school children have received with unanimous approval the inclusion of Russian lessons in the curriculum. Now Russian is becoming the second native language for every school child.

And this is very important, because knowledge of the Russian language, in addition to the native tongue, gives them access to the entire multinational culture of the Soviet peoples and to the progressive world culture.

People of most diverse political convictions, who visited the republic as members of foreign delegations, have expressed their admiration at the organization of public education in Uzbekistan. Upon his return home from a trip to Uzbekistan, secretary of the Algerian Association of Friends of the USSR, Hadjadja, said at a press-conference: "Some one million children do not attend school in Algeria. Their native language is regarded as a foreign one. This is why I was so greatly impressed by a visit to one of the Tashkent schools where Uzbek children are taught to read and write in their own language. This is why I was also immensely impressed by the slogan in the school's wall paper: 'Not a single child outside school!'"

The Uzbek people take pride in their Academy of Sciences set up on the basis of the branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences in 1943, when the Great Patriotic War was at its height. Today, the Uzbek Academy of Sciences has 25, and the Academy of Agricultural Sciences -- 17 research institutes. During the past few years Uzbekistan has set up scientific institutes conducting research in the following fields: nuclear physics, mechanics, hydraulic engineering, geology and the working of oil and gas deposits, chemistry, raw materials and cotton, philosophy and law, etc. A great event in the republic's life was the commissioning in September 1959 of the first atomic reactor in the Soviet East. This rounded off an important stage in the creation of an experimental base for nuclear physics. Now the republic has 119 scientific research institutes. More than 10,000 scientists, including 220 doctors and 2,440 masters of science, work at the republic's institutions of higher learning, scientific and other organizations.

Speaking of Uzbekistan's modern socialist culture means speaking of its numerous writers, poets and translators, who have produced a no little number of fine works, enriching Soviet literature as a whole, means speaking of the works by classics of Marxism-Leninism, Russian and world literature, which have become accessible to our people thanks to their translation into the Uzbek language. Pre-revolutionary Uzbekistan knew no theatres, musical schools or national artists. Besides numerous professional theatres, the republic now has thousands of amateur art companies at plants and factories, in collective and state farms, at educational establishments. A new trend in our life are the universities of culture and people's theatres.

The republic's theatres stage operas, dramas and musical plays by Soviet and foreign authors. After visiting Uzbekistan, the secretary general of the Indo-Soviet Society for Foreign Cultural Relations Mahmud-Shafar highly praised the theatrical art and music of the Uzbek Soviet Republic. In his book "In Search of Life" he writes: "It was an exquisite pleasure to see and hear Uzbek opera and ballet.

One is pleased not only by superb acting and attractiveness of the young performers, but by the awareness that everyone here witnesses the cultural revival of a great and ancient people."

The successes scored by the working people of the Soviet East are a model and inspiring example for the nations of Asia and Africa. The noted Japanese writer Tokusaburo Dan said after his visit to Uzbekistan: "I was amazed by Uzbekistan's huge and remarkably rapid progress. One cannot help being astonished that a country, where almost all the population was illiterate prior to the revolution, now has a national Academy of Sciences, scores of institutes, theatres, many cultural institutions."

There are many yardsticks to estimate social and cultural progress. Some people in the capitalist countries of the West are inclined to measure progress by the amount of consumed soap. It goes without saying that soap is an important and indispensable product, but it hardly can be the only indicator of a nation's cultural level. We believe that the world as a whole and the East in particuler has such an error-proof criterium of genuine social progress as the status of women.

The humiliation and oppression of women, their utter rightlessness in the East are generally known. The old Uzbekistan was no exception in this respect. Marriage against the bride's will, polygamy, the paranjas, which shut off the light of day from women -- all this was regarded as inviolable rules of life. And now? Let's start by saying that women hold a prominent place in produotive labour. Women account for 45% of the people employed in industry, 42% of the state farm and 51% of the collective farm labour force. There are thousands of women engineers, technicians, agronomists and other specialists. It is not only in the national economy that the women find employment: the republic has over 35,000 women teachers and more than 7,000 women doctors. Twenty-four women are doctors of science and 683 -- masters of science. There are Uzbek women working as heads of university chairs or institute directors.

Women ply an important part in public life: 16 Uzbek women are deputies of the country's highest organ of power -- the USSR Supreme Soviet; 129 women are deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the Uzbek Republic, and more than 20,000 women are deputies of local Soviets. The Uzbek people, and the republic's women first and foremost, take pride in the fact that Y.S. Nasriddinova, President of the Presidium of the Uzbek Supreme Soviet, is the only woman president in the Soviet Union.

Against the background of these really epochal achievements in the emancipation of women, there is no need of hushing up the fact that there are still individual cases of incorrect, feudal attitude to women in the republic. But these are hang-overs of the past, against which the Communist Party of Uzbekistan and all the Soviet public are waging a persistent and irreconcilable struggle. On the whole, one conclusion can be drawn from the above-said:

Uzbekistan, as all the other republics of Central Asia, has solved the question of equality of women once and for all. Today, the Uzbek woman is an equal and fullfledged participant of the historical process of building a new, communist society.

Our country is dominated by a single Marxist-Leninist ideology, a single socialist economy and culture. This promotes an ever closer association of the national cultures of all the socialist republics. New traditions, common for all the socialist nations, have appeared and flourished out: fraternal friendship, internationalism, mutual assistance, common love of the socialist Homeland, selfless labour, concern for socially-owned property.

The ever growing mutual influence of the socialist in content and national in form cultures of the Soviet Union, their mutual enrichment, the constant spiritual contact of the peoples -- are not accidental phenomena, but an objective process stemming from the laws underlying the Soviet society's advance towards communism.

Friendship of Peoples -- Our Greatest Asset

Much can be said about the forces that have ensured Uzbekistan's achievements and are advancing it along the road of progress. The basic force that has created everything delighting our friends, dejecting our enemies, surprising sceptics, are the Uzbek people themselves: the workers, collective farmers and intellectuals. The mind, will, energy and persistent work of the people, masters of their destiny, have accomplished what had been the dream of their finest representatives, such, for instance, as Alisher Navoi, who placed above all the cause of serving the people. He is the author of the fine lines:

He shall be the best of men,
Who does the most for his people...

The working people of Uzbekistan have built thousands of factories, plants and mines, have put up stately buildings, have made mighty rivers do their bidding, have cut canals across desert steppe-lands. The things created by the Uzbek people during the years of Soviet power, eclipse the huge structures of the Timur epoch in Samarkand, the opulent palaces of Bokhara and Khoresm, the frescoes and wall-paintings of the Shakh-Zinde tombs.

Man is the creator and maker of all the material and spiritual values. The creative labour is reflected today in the vast movement for the title of communist labour teams and workers. It has already been joined by over 11,000 teams, shops and sections, totalling some 200,000 men. More than 2,000 collectives and 6,000 front-rankers of production have already been awarded this title. Collective labour is the motive force behind the accomplishments of Tursunoi Akhunova, famous machine-operator of the republic, who harvested with her picking machine 322 tons of cotton during the 1960 season, i.e. 72 tons more than she had pledged herself to take in.

Yes, labour is the source of everything created by the Soviet people, of everything that makes their life happy, permeated with the joy of creation. But after all, work is the lot also of the Papistani peasant, Iranian share-cropper, Turkish worker, and negro in the mines of the South African Union. Why do they, working in the sweat of their borw, remain poor all their life, drag out a hungry existence with their families, why are they deprived of all the boons of spiritual culture? Because a desire to work alone is not enough, there must be social conditions when a man works for his own good, when he is master of the products turned out as a result of joint labour with others. Such conditions do not exist in any of the capitalist countries. In Uzbekistan they have been created by the October Revolution, by the socialist system. They have made the Uzbek working people the sole and sovereign masters of their destiny, their country.

To put into play their mighty forces, the people need, above all, political freedom and national independence. Only inveterate colonialists can go on reiterating that certain nations are unfit for independent development. This is utter hypocricy. Were not the Uzbek people just as suppressed before the October Revolution as many colonial peoples remain till today? Their heyday really began only after the young Soviet state had proclaimed the right of all peoples to self-determination, to national independence. This right had not only been proclaimed, but guaranteed by the unselfish assistance rendered to Uzbekistan by the other peoples of the Soviet Union. The example of Uzbekistan gives the lie to the reactionary nonsense about the unfitness of colonial peoples for independent development.

The colonialists are trying to speculate on the allegation that the Soviets come out for the granting of independence to the colonies, but do not want their republics to secede. The hypocritical meaning of this argument is perfectly obvious. In Uzbekistan nobody even dreams of living anywhere outside the fraternal family of the Soviet peoples, anywhere but the Soviet Union. It is easy to see the misery to which the working people of Uzbekistan would be doomed had they seceded from Soviet Russia after the October Revolution. The Constitution of the USSR gives the Union republics a right to secede, but not a single republic desires to avail itself of this right. All of them remain voluntarily, with the full consent of their peoples, within the framework of their Union. It is one matter to withdraw from under the rule of imperialism, which always comes out everywhere as a strangler of national freedom, and an absolutely different matter to conclude a fraternal alliance with the socialist republics, which are advocates of equality and national freedom. This is why the Uzbek people, just as the other peoples, have always deemed and deem their life to be unthinkable outside the united family of all the Soviet people, cemented together by their community of ideas, purposes and goals.

In the opening years of socialist construction assistance to the economically and culturally underdeveloped peoples by the more advanced nations was of primary importance in relations among the peoples of our country.

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This aid had the purpose of doing away with the existing inequality, of promoting the economic and cultural revival of the national republics, their industrialization, the fastest possible development of productive forces. Only on this basis it was possible to create all requisites for genuine sovereignity and independent development of the formerly backward nations, for the independent historical creative efforts of the peoples. The industrially advanced Soviet republics have always helped readily and unselfishly in the industrialization of the Central Asian regions, did everything in their power to overcome as quickly as possible their age-old economic backwardness.

How far it is from the "aid" imposed by the imperialists on the peoples under their yoke! Imperialism fears the economic development of colonial and dependent nations. It hampers in every possible way their industrialization and agricultural reforms, because this places the dependent nations on the rails of independent development.

In the new historical conditions, when the actual inequality of nations had been done away with, the mutual assistance of socialist nations, their creative cooperation, have emerged to the fore. Uzbekistan receives a lot from the union republics, but it supplies them with many things, too. The Uzbek republic delivers to other areas of the country first-class farm and textile machinery, products of the radio and electrical engineering industry, cinema cameras, spares for tractors and automobiles, mineral fertilizer, equipment for the chemical industry, excavators and compressors, let alone cotton, whose output amounts to two thirds of the total Soviet production.

Friendship among the peoples of Central Asia is growing steadily. The Uzbek and Tajik peoples jointly built the Great Ferghana Canal, the Farkhad hydro-electric station, developed the fertile Vakhsh valley, erected the Kairak-Kum hydropower station, which, as desired by both peoples, was called the "People's Friendship" station. The following facts also serve to show what real international friendship is: the Uzbek, Turkmen and Karakalpakian peoples have jointly built the Chardzhou-Kungrad railway. In 1956, meeting the voluntary will of the Kazakh and Uzbek peoples, Bostandyk district of the Kazakh Republic was transferred to the Uzbek republic. In 1959 the Uzbek people transferred to the Tajiks a part of the Hunger Steppe for reclamation and cotton cultivation. Where else but in the socialist country such facts of amicable and reasonable solution of territorial questions is possible, the solution meeting the interests of both nations?

"Florescence of economy and culture in all the Soviet republics is the most vivid expression of the triumph of the Leninist national policy," Nikita Khrushchov pointed out at a meeting of Kazakh agricultural front-rankers in Alma-Ata last March. "Today's meeting, where the peoples of Kazakhstan and all the republics of Central Asia are represented, is patent proof of fraternal friendship among all our peoples, which have one goal and one road."

Friendship among our peoples is witnessed by all those who visit our republic, if they look on life with open eyes and not through black glasses. Upon his return home from a visit to the USSR in March 1959, Secretary General of the Ceylonese Association of Afro-Asian Solidarity Dr. Krossette Tambiah wrote the pamphlet "Uzbekistan -- Former Tsarist Colony." He says there: "I was eager to grasp and understand for myself whether it was possible for Europeans and Asians, peoples of different cultures, religions and languages, to live as true equals and friends. The sole and predominant impression I carried away from Uzbekistan was that the Uzbeks are masters of their own country and that the Russians, who live and work there, are their comrades, enjoying equal rights and contributing to the solution of the great task of building up a new society in Central Asia." Well said, so well said that hardly anything can be added to it.

Equally abhorred by the socialist nations is national arrogance and national nihilism, cosmopolitism, high-handed or scornful attitude to other peoples, bourgeois nationalism, racial and nationalistic prejudices. Very important is the fact that the formerly humiliated national dignity and self-awareness have risen to exceptional heights and brought about the cohesion of all nations and peoples. And this happened because the idea of international friendship, constituting the essence of the Leninist national policy of the Communist Party, has entered the flesh and blood not only of the Uzbek people, but of all the working people of the republic.

True, in the present conditions there are still traces of nationalism in the conscience of the most backward sections of the Soviet people. In Uzbekistan they find expression, specifically, in the hang-overs of the old, patriarchal-tribal and feudal customs and culture, in the idealization of the feudal past, in national narrow-mindedness and localism. Very often the vestiges of nationalism are intertwined with religious survivals; they revive and support each other. The Communist Party of Uzbekistan is fighting resolutely against all these phenomena, is educating the people in the spirit of Marxist-Leninist ideology, an important part of which is socialist internationalism.

Uzbekistan, as the other Soviet republics, is international in nature as regards the structure of its population. Dozens of nationalities live here: Uzbeks, Karakalpakians, Russians, Tajiks, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Kazakhs, Azerbaijanians, Greeks, Armenians, Koreans, Tatars, Uigurs, Kirhizians, Turkmens, Jews and many others. Unity and cohesion, friendship and fraternal cooperation are characteristic traits of relations among people of different nationalities. Standing side by side at the blast-furnaces of the Uzbek Iron and Steel Mill named after Lenin, for instance, are Russians and Uzbeks, Ukrainians and Tajiks, people of other nationalities. Their joint labour yields steel for the fulfilment of the Seven-Year Plan. Representatives of over 20 nationalities work side by side to advance all branches of agricultural production in the "Oktyabr" collective farm, Gulistan district.

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Collective farmers of 15 nationalities work at the Khrushchov collective farm, which is headed by thrice Hero of Socialist Labour Tursunkulov.

The great Russian people has played and continues to play a tremendous role in the creation and consolidation of the commonwealth of socialist nations. It has proved to be an unselfish friend and defender of the interests of all the peoples of our country, has earned their gratitude and enjoys great authority among them. The resolution of the XVth Congress of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan, held in 1960, reads: "The hearts of the working people of Uzbekistan are full of gratitude for their unselfish aid and support to all the peoples of our Homeland, especially to the great Russian people, which has set the noble example of loyalty in friendship, sincere fraternity, heroism and selflessness in defending the gains of the Great October Revolution, in the struggle for the radiant communist morrow."

Patriotism and international friendship are inseparable from socialist internationalism. Numerous facts bear witness to the deep internationalism of the Uzbek people. Here are but a few of them: students from eight countries of the People's Democracies attend the higher educational establishments of Tashkent. Some 50 youths and girls from the Korean Democratic People's Republic have acquired higher agricultural education in Tashkent. Young scientists from China, Bulgaria and other countries have won their Masters' degrees in Uzbekistan.

Of great international significance was the Afro-Asian Writers Conference held in Tashkent in October 1958. It was attended by representatives of 50 foreign countries, including 196 delegates from 37 countries of Asia and Africa and 22 guests from Europe and America. The Conference passed under the watchword of peace and friendship. It promoted the further consolidation of cultural relations among the peoples of Asia and Africa, their friendly cooperation. It is not without reason that the Tashkent Conference was dubbed the "literary Bandung." That is where the "Tashkent spirit" originated, signifying the further strengthening of friendship and solidarity among the nations of Asia and Africa in their struggle for peace, for mankind's happiness.

Brought up by the great party of communists in the spirit of socialist internationalism, the Uzbek people are ready to share the "secrets" of their successes, in a brotherly way, with the working people of all countries, the more so of the countries which have cast off the fetters of colonialism and embarked upon the road of independent historical development. Our solidarity with these peoples is broader and deeper than mere friendly appreciation of their struggle for liberation. Our example inspires them, gives them great faith in their victory over colonialism. "The epoch of colonialist domination is receding into the past," said Nikita Khrushchov. "The awakened East is flexing its shoulders. Africa is in turmoil, casting off the chains of age-old slavery. The peoples of Latin America, which are set the example by revolutionary Cuba, have come into motion.

The peoples of all these countries look with hope upon the Soviet Union, the countries of socialism in Europe and Asia. They behold with particular admiration the republics of the Soviet East and realize ever more clearly that socialism has opened for the peoples of Central Asia and Kazakhstan the road to rapid economic, political and cultural progress."

The correctness of these words is confirmed by representatives of the countries that have rid themselves of the colonialist yoke. "Uzbekistan is a good example for the peoples that have embarked upon the road of building a new life," said Madeira Keita, leader of the mission of the Republic of Mali, who visited Uzbekistan last March. Everything that took place during the years of Soviet power in Uzbekistan, as in any other Soviet eastern republic for that matter, is a severe and final sentence passed on the colonial system in Asia and Africa, whose collapse the imperialists are trying in vain to prevent or retard. At the same time it is confirmation of the thesis, unquestionable nowadays, that the genuine revival of formerly underdeveloped nations is possible only on socialist lines.

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We have begun with the question posed by foreigners visiting Uzbekistan: "How could you achieve such progress so quickly?" There is yet another question invariably asked by many foreign guests. Its wording is different, but the meaning boils down to the following: "In your country we have often heard the term 'Leninist national policy'. Please tell us what this policy means?"

This is actually the same question but asked in a somewhat different way. We have answered it for all our readers above. It is precisely the Leninist national policy that has ensured the economic and cultural progress of all nationalities, establishment of inviolable friendship among the peoples of the Soviet Union and its turning into a mighty motive force for the development of the socialist society. The huge successes in the economic, political and cultural life of the Uzbek people have been achieved due to the assistance rendered them by all the peoples of the USSR under the leadership of the glorious party of Bolsheviks. The Uzbek people are constantly conscious of their unbreakable ties with all the Soviet peoples. Figuratively speaking, they breathe the air of the happy fraternal family of the builders of communism, who are rallied together by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, its Marxist-Leninist policy, which is the vital foundation of Soviet society.

We say: "Look what we have achieved. Look how we live and work. Acquaint yourself with our strivings. In all this you will find an answer to your question." Indeed, our Soviet reality, the life of Uzbekistan, as of any other Union republic, is the Leninist national policy in action, the Leninist national policy as it is.
(Kommunist, No. 6. In full.)

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN THE NEW STAGE OF THE GENERAL CRISIS OF CAPITALISM

I. Lemin

I.

Lenin's teachings are immortal. Lenin's ideas and principles in the sphere of international relations serve as a reliable compass indicating mankind the main trends of world development, the road to peace and fraternal cooperation among nations.

Imperialism has charged the international atmosphere with a special tension which breeds conflicts and disaster. Lenin wrote: "There was an epoch of comparatively 'peaceful' capitalism, when it had completely defeated feudalism in the advanced countries of Europe and could develop most (comparatively) calmly and smoothly, expanding 'peacefully' over vast regions of as yet unoccupied territories and countries which had not yet been completely drawn into the capitalist maelstrom.... This epoch is gone irrevocably; it was succeeded by a comparatively much more tempestuous, uneven, conflictive and disaster-charged epoch, when 'an end with horror,' rather than 'endless horror,' is becoming typical for the mass of the population."*

The expansion of capital beyond its national boundaries, the irresistible tendency of every capitalist power to monopolize the markets, sources of raw materials and "spheres of influence" brought about a bitter struggle for the redivision of the already divided world. A few "Great Powers" were engaged in a furious competition for world mastery. World hegemony became the main substance, the general line of the foreign policy of the "Great Powers."

Lenin established that wars are inevitable under the rule of imperialism. The relations between the capitalist countries depended entirely on the relationship of economic, financial and military strength. The stronger was oppressing the weaker one, the poor and backward was cringing before the rich and powerful. And inasmuch as the relationship of forces between the powers was changing from time to time as the result of the action of the law of the uneven development of capitalism, and the equilibrium within the world capitalist system was upset, that brought about colossal explosions and war catastrophes on a world scale.

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* V.I. Lenin. Coll. Works; Russ. 4th ed, Vol. 22, p.91

The Great October Revolution of 1917 ushered in a new era in the sphere of international relations. The birth of the Soviet state disturbed the entire system of world economic and political relationship characteristic of imperialism. A new social force, a challenge to the old system which has outlived its age, in the economic, political and ideological spheres, appeared in the world scene.

In his article on the Fourth Anniversary of the October Revolution, Lenin wrote that "the question of imperialist wars, of the international policy of finance capital which dominates the whole world, a policy that inevitably engenders new imperialist wars..., this question has been the keystone of the entire policy of all countries of the globe since 1914," and that "in this connection, too, our October Revolution marked the beginning of a new era in world history."*

The Land of Soviets has put forward and has been defending ever since the first days of its existence entirely new principles of international relations. To the imperialist spirit of conquests, of the drive for hegemony, antagonism of nations, power politics, arms races and preparations for war, socialism has counterposed its consistent policy of peace, disarmament, friendship among nations and equality of all nations and countries, big and small. The Soviet Government has put an end to the old diplomacy of imperialism with its secret machinations, lies, piracy and provocations. It abolished secret diplomacy and faced the whole world frankly and honestly, appealing not only to governments, but also to the peoples.

The decisive problem of world politics since the time of the October Revolution has been the relationship between the two systems, the socialist and the capitalist one, as expressed in the dilemma: the dangerous, adventurist way of military settlement of the great ideological and political dispute between the two formations, or the way of peaceful economic competition? The imperialist bourgeoisie was drawn irresistibly to the former way. On behalf of the Soviet socialist state Lenin advanced the principle of peaceful coexistence of the two systems, and the Soviet Union has been incessantly defending as an irrevocable law in relations between states and as an international law in our period of transition.

Progressive public forces proved incapable of averting the second world war. Preparing this war, the imperialist bourgeoisie wanted to resolve its internal contradictions at the expense of the U.S.S.R. It calculated that the war would bring about the defeat of the socialist country, or that it would, at any rate, reduce its weight and influence in world economy and world politics to a negligible fraction.

* Ibid, Vol.33, p.33.

This was the basis of the political plans of the "anti-Comintern pact" powers, of the Munich conspirators and of the "second front" saboteurs in the countries of the anti-Hitlerite coalition. All these treacherous plans ended in a complete fiasco.

The Munich politicians did not succeed in "channelling" the fascist aggression Eastwards. It turned like a boomerang against themselves. Hitler Germany did not succeed in securing the cooperation of the Anglo-Franco-American bloc for war against the U.S.S.R. The irreconcilable contradictions between the two capitalist blocs proved to be temporarily stronger and sharper than the contradictions between the two systems.

The Soviet Union played the decisive role in the defeat of the coalition of aggressors; it saved mankind from the threat of fascist slavery. Although it suffered the heaviest losses in men and materials, it came out of the war not bloodless, exhausted and dependent upon foreign aid, but stronger and mightier than ever before, capable of healing rapidly the wounds caused by the war and of launching a wide offensive on the front of peaceful socialist construction.

The authority and weight of the Soviet Union in international affairs have grown immensely in the second stage of the general crisis of capitalism. The socialist country developed into a first-class international force, exerting an increasingly active influence upon the course of world history. The economic, political and military strength of the Soviet Union became a protective shield for the national liberation, democratic movements in the East European countries, a safeguard against foreign intervention; it thus ensured the appearance of the people's democratic, socialist regimes as the result of the free and unhindered expression of the will of their peoples. The growing influence of socialism in the sphere of international relations helped to bring about the historic victory of the Chinese people and to call into existence the people's democratic regimes in North Korea and in North Vietnam.

The birth of the world socialist system marked an epoch-making turn in the sphere of international relations.

II

Lenin foresaw the time when socialism would become the main, decisive force in world development and in international relations. He connected that with the end of the Soviet country's "solitude," with the appearance of the world socialist system.

In his draft theses on the national and colonial questions prepared for the Second Congress of the Communist International in June, 1920, Lenin emphasized the growing urgency of "the task of transforming the dictatorship of the proletariat from a national one (i.e., existing in one country and incapable of determining world politics) into an international one (i.e., a dictatorship of the proletariat covering at least several advanced countries and capable of exercising decisive influence upon the whole of world politics").*

The provision of Lenin's genius is taking real shape right before our own eyes. "The main distinguishing feature of our time lies in that the world socialist system is developing into the decisive factor of development of... the human society,"—this most important Marxist-Leninist scientific deduction drawn by the Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in 1960, is fully applicable to the sphere of international relations.

What is characteristic of the current period in world history, of the new stage of the general crisis of capitalism, in the sphere of international relations?

Firstly, the evolution of the world socialist system into the dominating factor of world politics.

Secondly, the appearance of the liberated countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, and of those which still are fighting for their freedom, as an active and independent anti-imperialist force in the international arena.

Thirdly, the deep crisis of the entire postwar foreign and military policy of the imperialist camp headed by the U.S.A.; still more uneven development of the world capitalist system and the sharpening of the contradictions within it.

Fourthly, the possibilities opened for settling, on the basis of the new relationship of world class forces, the fundamental problem of international relations of our time, that of preventing another world war, in order subsequently to exclude war for ever from the life of society, freeing mankind from the nightmarish war threat and the heavy armaments' burden, and ensuring peaceful coexistence and cooperation of nations.

At the existing stage of historic development imperialism has already lost its dominating position in world politics. The dominating role of imperialism in this sphere was determined by two circumstances: its absolute preponderance in material strength (economic, scientific, technical and military) and its prevalence in foreign policy, inasmuch

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* Ibid, Vol. 31, p. 126

as in the past capitalism represented the only and monopolistic system of states, while the lone socialist country was surrounded by a hostile capitalist environment. Lastly, the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, which are inhabited by the majority of mankind, remained in colonial or semicolonial dependence upon the imperialist camp constituting its economic, military and political reserve, and did not play any independent role in international politics.

Today the situation is radically changed. In 1937, the share of socialism in world industrial output approximated 10 per cent, while in 1959 it has surpassed one-third, the share of the U.S.S.R. amounting to almost 20 per cent.* When the Seven-Year Plan of the U.S.S.R. and the corresponding economic plans of the other socialist countries are carried out, i.e., in 1965, the world socialist system will account for more than 50 per cent of the world's industrial production. Science and technology of the socialist world have won the leading place in the scientific and technical revolution which is now taking place in the world. It is generally recognized that the Soviet Union is far ahead of the leading capitalist countries in such fields of human knowledge as cosmic explorations, rocket engineering and the peaceful uses of atomic energy. The latest achievements of science and technology lie at the basis of the unvanquishable defence of the socialist camp which is now invulnerable to any enemy intrigues.

These revolutionary changes in the sphere of material activity have exerted a powerful influence on international relations and brought about a radical shift of forces in world politics.

Although the overlords of capitalism try to ignore Marxism-Leninism, they are aware of the relationship between economy and foreign policy. Not very long ago, the ideologists and strategists of American imperialism were declaring for the whole world to hear that the first precondition for the success of the foreign policy of the U.S.A. was the prevention of an economic crisis, the prevention of the U.S.A. from falling behind in the economic competition

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* "National Economy of the U.S.S.R. in 1959. Statistical Yearbook," Moscow, 1960, p. 87.

of the two systems.* At the moment the American ruling circles have to acknowledge that there were four economic crises in the U.S.A. in the postwar period. They are also admitting through their teeth that they must inevitably be outraced in the peaceful economic competition of the two systems. The main danger of the United States lagging behind in the economy of the cold war lies in that in the coming decade the U.S.A. may become a less important Great Power than the U.S.S.R.--is the conclusion drawn in the report prepared at the end of 1960 by the John Hopkins University research group for the armed forces of the U.S.A.**

The great changes in international relations are due not only to changes in the material sphere, in the relationship of the economic, scientific and technical forces of the two systems, but also the radical changes in the political sphere. Among the facts which may be included here are the liquidation of the capitalist encirclement, the final victory of socialism in the U.S.S.R. and in the other socialist countries, the progress and consolidation of the socialist system of states with the fundamentally new type of international relations characteristic of it.

Elimination of the capitalist encirclement is not merely a geographical phenomenon, but a deeply political one--it is evidence of a new correlation of world class forces. Not in vain are some of the American scientists and politicians already sounding the warning that the U.S.A. may in the near future find itself before the prospect of a "socialist encirclement."

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* In the report submitted by the Wilson research foundation and the National Planning Association, "The Political Economy of American Foreign Policy," published in 1955 and constituting the foreign policy program of United States finance capital, we read: Prevention of a big American depression is an absolutely necessary precondition for an effective American policy.... To say nothing of economic consequences, the ability, or inability of the Americans to evade a big depression, has become to the rest of the world, and to the Americans themselves, a test not only of their capacity for world leadership, but also a test of the efficacy or inefficacy, justice or injustice of the liberal economic system. (P.305.) In another report based on investigations of the same kind and published by the New York Council For International Relations in 1956 (Henry Roberts. Russia and America) we read: It is not difficult to imagine what fatal its effect would be on the moral and political stability in the United States and abroad if it had become clear that American economy is being outraced by the economy of the Soviet bloc (p.128).

** "The New York Times," November 6, 1960.

Abolition of the capitalist encirclement is equivalent (as the result of the new correlation of forces) to the removal of the threat of the restoration of capitalism,and, consequently, to the final victory of socialism. The Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties emphasized that the social and economic possibilities for the restoration of capitalism have already been eradicated not only in the Soviet Union, but also in the socialist system as a whole.

Marxism-Leninism teaches us that in our time an analysis of economic and political processes should not be restricted to national boundaries, that it is necessary to take account of the role and influence of international contacts and mutual relations: economic--within the limits of world economy, political--within the limits of a definite system of states. Thus, disclosing the causes of the first world war, Lenin emphasized that what should be taken is not one or another example, but "the entire policy of the whole system of European states in their economic and political relationships."* Speaking of the threat of a military attack on the only socialist country, Lenin emphasized also that this danger emanates not only from specific imperialist states, but from the entire system of capitalist states.** In his letter to Inessa Armand dated January, 1917 Lenin warned against underestimations of the role and significance of the "system of states" as a deviation towards anarchism: "We are living not merely in a state, but also in a definite system of states; anarchists may ignore that; we are not anarchists." And further, polemizing against the argument that state construction (Staatenbau) is not the purpose of Social-Democracy, Lenin wrote: "This is half anarchism, half idiocy! No, we were least of all indifferent towards Staatenbau, towards a system of states, towards their relationships."***

The origin and consolidation of the world socialist system of states amounted to a radical turn in the distribution and relationship of forces in the arena of international politics.

Life has justified the prophetic words of the Manifesto of the Communist Party that "as the antagonism between classes within the nation vanishes, the hostility of one nation to another will come to an end."

Bourgeois ideologists, who are incapable of seeing beyond the boundaries of capitalist relations and who measure everything with their own yardstick, are banking on the development of "contradictions" in the socialist camp.

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* V.I. Lenin, Coll. Works, Russ. 4th. ed., Vol. 24, p. 365.
** V.I. Lenin, Ibid. Vol. 29, p. 133; Vol. 31, p.111, 216; Vol. 32, p. 468.
*** V.I. Lenin, Ibid, Vol. 35, pp. 219, 220.

The revisionists are strutting in their wake. In his booklet "Socialism and War," Edward Kardelj waxes eloquent on various contradictions which are allegedly dividing or could divide the socialist countries: There is the notorious "hegemonism," and the effort of the "strong" to retard the economic development of the "weak," and simply the results of a "mistaken policy;" moreover, according to the author, these contradictions "could also acquire an antagonistic character." Kardelj goes so far as to say that the socialist countries... may conduct unjust, i.e., aggressive wars of conquest. In short, this Yugoslav revisionist pictures the socialist system of states according to the image and semblance of the capitalist system. But this picture has nothing in common with the real facts.

The relationships among the socialist countries are based on mainstays which are diametrically opposite to the laws of the imperialist jungles, i.e., on the principles of socialist internationalism, friendship and equality, cooperation and mutual assistance, and joint struggle for peace throughout the world. This is truly the prototype of the fraternal relations of the future between all nations, among all the people on the earth.

The Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties pointed out: "In counterdistinction to the laws of the capitalist system with its inherent antagonistic contradictions between classes, nations and states, which lead to military conflicts, there are no objective reasons in the nature of the socialist system for contradictions and conflicts between the peoples and states included in it, its development leads to increasingly solid unity of states and nations, its strengthening of all the forms of cooperation between them."

The new type of international relations which has taken root in the socialist system of states exerts its great and growing influence upon the entire structure of world political contacts, on the development and nature of international relations in general. Formerly, the capitalist system of states was the only and dominating factor in the sphere of international relations, and it determined the basic trend of world politics. The capitalist system of states has now lost not only its monopoly, but also its dominating position. Capitalism no longer possesses full mastery even in its own home, in the capitalist camp: it has to reckon more and more with the influence of the new principles of international policy proclaimed and carried into practice by socialism.

The character and basic trend of world politics are determined today by the competition and struggle of two political lines, of two systems of states, the capitalist and the socialist one, with the growing predominance of socialism. Socialism is becoming more and more the dominating factor in international relations.

III

The principal allies of world socialism in the struggle for peace, for national liberation and equal cooperation of all peoples are the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America which have already won or are winning their freedom. Lenin concluded his memorandum "On the Question of Nationalities, or Of Autonomization," dictated by him at the end of 1922, with the following words: "And the tomorrow of world history will be precisely the day when the peoples oppressed by imperialism will completely awaken and when the decisive, long and hard battle will begin for their liberation."*

The disintegration of the colonial system is approaching its conclusion. As Lenin had foreseen, the liberated peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies have developed into an active factor in world politics and in the revolutionary destruction of imperialism, into an independent and active international force.** Indicative in this respect is the composition of UNO. In 1945, this Organization had among its 51 members 15 countries of Asia and Africa, at the end of 1960 they numbered 50 among 99. Their number is expected to increase in 1962 to 58 among 108.*** The economically underdeveloped countries, including 20 countries of Latin America, now comprise 70 per cent of all the United Nations members.

Although in their majority the liberated countries remain within the capitalist world economic system, they support the policy of peace, representing together with the socialist and neutral countries an extensive "zone of peace." The foreign policy orientation of these countries determines in many respects also the rates of their economic development and the degree of their economic and political independence, and the possibilities of ridding themselves of the "latest" disguised forms of colonialism. Of great political importance is the proposition put forward by the Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties about the formation of independent national democracies, which have as one of their main distinguishing features a consistent, independent and active anti-imperialist, peace-loving policy.

True to Lenin's directives, the socialist countries consider the alliance with the peoples of the former colonies and semi-colonies and all-around assistance and support to them, as their international duty and as a matter of vital concern to them.

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* V.I. Lenin. Ibid, Vol. 36, p. 559
** V.I. Lenin, Ibid, Vol. 32, pp. 430, 457-458
***U.S. News and World Report, Aug. 22, 1960, p. 37

The future victories of socialism and the ultimate success of the national liberation movement of the oppressed peoples depend upon the strength and endurance of this alliance. A striking expression of the policy of fraternal alliance and cooperation of the socialist countries with the national liberation movement was the Declaration on Granting Independence to the Colonial Countries and Peoples submitted by N.S. Khrushchov to the Fifteenth United Nations General Assembly. The complete abolition of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations would have done much to relieve international tensions, to remove the causes of military conflicts, to strengthen the peace.

An entirely new development in international life is neutralism on the scale it has now assumed, the tendency of some of the non-socialist countries to keep out of military alliances, or to wrest themselves free from their obligations assumed in the aggressive blocs. The overlords of the imperialist camp consider the growing public movement for neutralism one of the greatest dangers to the military and political organization of modern capitalism.

It is indicative that the movement for neutralism embraces not only small, or economically underdeveloped countries, but great powers as well. Interesting information about the growth of neutralist sentiments in Britain and France is contained in the secret report of the U.S. Information Agency, some extracts from which have been published. In the poll of public opinion taken in Britain 39 per cent favored neutrality in 1958 and 46 per cent in May, 1960. In France, 51 per cent came out for non-participation in blocs in 1960.*

A powerful social and political force exerting its influence on the course of world events is the movement for peace which is expressed in the various organizations and drives for peace, in the campaign for nuclear disarmament, the struggle "against atomic death," scientists' contribu to the defence of the peace (Pugwash conferences), activit of the pacifist organizations, of well-known pacifist societies, etc.

When V.I. Lenin laid before the Second All-Russian Congress of Soviets the historic Decree on Peace, he emphasized that it was necessary "to help the peoples to interfere in the questions of war and peace." Lenin said: "We want a government to be always under the control of the public opinion of its country."**

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* "The New York Times," October 27, 1960

** V.I. Lenin, Coll. Works, Russ. 4th ed., Vol.26, pp. 220,222

Today, as never before, even the most reactionary governments must reckon with public opinion, with pressure from the widest sections of the people. Hence the great anxiety and dissatisfaction voiced by bourgeois politicians and ideologists. Walter Lippmann dedicated a special book, "Essays in the Public Philosophy," to the problems of struggle against pressure from "the street" which interferes in questions of big politics. Lippmann complains that the ruling circles have lost their independence, that they have to adjust themselves to the crowd. The opinion of the masses, he says, has acquired growing power in our time. It has shown itself to be a dangerous judge in decisions where life or death is at stake.*

An approximately similar concept is put forward in the "U.S. Foreign Policy. Ideology and Foreign Affairs," prepared by a group of specialists of Harvard University for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Science and the participation of the masses in political life, write the authors, have radically changed the character of foreign policy. In a world which has grown smaller, relations between nations have become closer and intimate. In all countries foreign policy is becoming increasingly intertwined with domestic policy; it is no longer the exclusive affair of a limited elite which has freedom to define and change the political line. Today, admit the authors of the report, foreign policy must reckon with the hopes and fears of the masses more than ever before.**

To bourgeois politicians there is no greater sorrow than this enforced necessity. Their efforts are concentrated on finding ways of misleading public opinion, of dealing a rebuff to the masses. But they cannot invent gunpowder here. It is not in vain that an attraction to the past, to the ancient methods of foreign policy and diplomacy is observed in the political circles of the imperialist camp. Ivone Kirkpatrick, a well-known British diplomat and one of the Munichmen, is at present praising the notorious secret diplomacy, proposing to reject summit conferences and political discussions in the United Nations General Assembly and to return to secret negotiations behind the backs of the peoples.*** Appeals of this kind resound ever louder among the ruling circles of the Western powers. One cannot fail to see in that another evidence of the deepening crisis of the foreign policy of imperialism.

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* W. Lippmann. Essays in the Public Philosophy. Boston, 1955, p. 20.

** U.S. Foreign Policy, Ideology and Foreign Affairs. Study Prepared at the Request of the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, by Center for International Affairs, Harvard University. 86th Congress, 2nd Session. Washington, 1960, p. 6.

*** Cf. "The New York Times Magazine," March 22, 1959.

IV.

Characteristic features of the new stage in the general crisis of capitalism include the deep impasse into which bourgeois foreign-policy ideology has drafted, the bankruptcy of the foreign policy of the imperialist camp, the fall of the prestige of American imperialism and sharpening of the contradictions between the capitalist countries.

The foreign-policy program of American imperialism was based entirely, under Truman and Acheson and under Eisenhower and Dulles (and later also under Eisenhower and Herther) on "positions of strength," i.e., on the effort to assure the military supremacy of the U.S.A. and to force the Soviet Union and other countries to submit to its will. American "policy of strength" has suffered utter failure. Before long, in 1949 already, the U.S.A. lost its monopoly of atomic weapons, found itself lagging behind the U.S.S.R. in the production of the H-bomb, and lagging more and more behind the U.S.S.R. in the production of rocket weapons. Moreover, the development of rocket weapons created for the U.S.A. an entirely new historical foreign policy situation by depriving it of strategic invulnerability.

The postwar foreign policy doctrines of the U.S.A. had their source in the calculations for the achievement of world hegemony, "world leadership," for converting the United States into an international gendarme, for the rise of "the age of America." This in brief was the meaning of the "policy of containment" and of the "Truman doctrine" proclaimed in the first postwar years, and also of the subsequent "policy of liberation," of the massed retaliation and the brink-of-war policies proclaimed by the Eisenhower-Dulles cabinet. All these political calculations turned out to be mere bluff. Even the dominating position of the U.S.A. within the capitalist system are now sustaining powerful blows. The "American age" has developed into an age of general "anti-Americanism." The American world gendarme has not succeeded in preventing the passage of some of the East and Southeast European countries into the socialist camp, the victory of the great Chinese revolution, the victorious advance of the national liberation movement and the disintegration of the colonial system.

American imperialism has been toying with the idea of capturing the colonial heritage of the European powers. It hoped that by turning away from the detested European colonial enslavers, the peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies would fall for the bait of veiled American colonialism. However, a feature characteristic of the current stage in the collapse of colonialism is precisely the growing discreditation and exposure of "neocolonialism" as well.

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Proof of that is contained in the rapid and utter failure of the "Eisenhower doctrine" in the Middle East, the shameful defeats suffered by the colonialists in Africa and the growing popularity of the victorious Cuban revolution throughout the Western hemisphere.

The fact that the prestige of the U.S.A. has dropped throughout the world is a generally recognized fact today. A crushing blow was dealt to this prestige by the U-2 spy flight in May, 1960, by the hypocritical and unworthy conduct of the Eisenhower government in connection with that incident and by the consequent breaking of the Summit Conference which was due to take place in Paris. The question of prestige was one of the main issues in the 1960 election campaign which ended in defeat for the Republicans.

The failures of the policy of American imperialism and the fall of its prestige lead to the aggravation of inter-imperialist contradictions. Lenin regarded the contradictions between the capitalist states as an intrinsic feature of capitalism ("property divides, while labor unites"*); he emphasized their irreconcilable character ("most deep, ineradicable discord of economic interests between the imperialist countries"**); he indicated the inevitable deepening of these contradictions at the stage of imperialism and exposed the apologetic notion "that the rule of finance capital lessens the unevenness and contradictions inherent in world economy, whereas in reality it increases them."***

A characteristic feature of the new stage in the general crisis is the aggravation of all internal and external contradictions of the capitalist system, the contradictions between the capitalist countries included.**** The division between the imperialist powers and the free countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America has deepened again of late over such basic questions of international policy as peaceful coexistence, disarmament and assurance of political independence to all peoples. Within the imperialist camp the process of lessening of the weight of the U.S.A. is still at work, although the U.S.A. remains the principal economic, financial and military force in this camp and the leading international exploiter.*****

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* V.I. Lenin, Ibid, Vol. 31, p.300

** V.I. Lenin, Ibid, Vol. 31, p. 436

*** V.I. Lenin, Ibid, Vol. 22, pp. 258-259

**** For greater details see article "Contradictions Between the Capitalist Countries at the Existing Stage" ("World Economy and International Relations" No. 8, 1960.)

***** Cf. A. Manukyan's article, "Weakening of Positions of the U.S.A. in Capitalist Economy" in "World Economy and International Relations," No. 4.

Inter-imperialist contradictions and the active struggle conducted by the peoples are weakening and undermining the American system of aggressive military alliances. This is confirmed by the fall of the obviously pro-American government in Turkey, by the mass popular campaigns against the military alliance with the U.S.A. in Japan. When the Japanese government, faced by mass anti-American demonstrations, had to cancel Eisenhower's visit to Japan in the summer of 1960, that unprecedented incident was appraised throughout the world as a major political defeat for the U.S.A. In the words of Joseph Alsop, this defeat of the U.S.A. in Japan was a much greater triumph for the Kremlin than anyone in the U.S.A. could have anticipated.*

Anglo-American contradictions are growing sharper both on economic grounds (growing trade expansion of the U.S.A. combined with new measures for protecting the American home market) and on political ones (mass anti-war and anti-American movement in Britain). The correspondent of the "New York Times" Middleton, who has lived in Britain for a long time and is well acquainted with the political sentiments in that country, wrote recently that the growth of pacifist, neutralist, anti-American sentiments among the British people, along with friendliness towards the U.S.S.R., has developed into a serious problem in Anglo-American relations. He goes on to say that the anti-war movement sounds like a call to a crusade and that it exerts a deep influence upon the British people, and upon the youth especially.**

The NATO bloc remains in a state of crisis. The French demand for the creation of a "political triumvirate" in NATO composed of the U.S.A., Britain and France, so that France should represent all of the West-European "six," has encountered stiff resistance from Bonn. Nor has support been found by the proposal of the U.S.A. for converting NATO into a "fourth nuclear power" which was actually intended to ensure the nuclear monopoly of the U.S.A. Here too the FRG acted as the main defender and France--as the main opponent of Norstad's project.

The contradictions between Paris and Bonn affect the whole complex of the notorious "European integration" project. The Paris-Bonn axis has developed a deep crack at the very first steps towards "integration." Stubborn resistance is offered by the FRG to the French claims to the role of leader of the "six," for the reason that it does not correspond to the relationships between the economic and military potentials of the two countries. The rift is deepening between the "six" and "seven," and contradictions are growing between these European monopolistic state alliances on the one hand, and the U.S.A., on the other hand.

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* "New York Herald Tribune," June 20, 1960
** "The New York Times," Nov. 7, 1960

In an article which speaks about "Kennedy's biggest problem"--an alliance which is falling to pieces, the "United States News and World Report" observes that the Kennedy-Rusk team, which just went to work, is discovering that the vast system of alliances built up in accordance with "our political doctrines," at a high cost, a system in which such great hopes were reposed, is falling to pieces.*

Speaking of the sharpening contradictions in the capitalist camp and of the growing uneveness of its development, it is necessary to remember the following circumstance. The basic contradiction of our time--that between the system of socialism and the system of capitalism--does not do away with the inter-imperialist contradictions and at the same time exerts a definite influence on their development. N.S. Khrushchov emphasized: "Of course, sharp contradictions and antagonisms still exist between the imperialist countries, the stronger desiring to profit at the expense of the weaker ones. Nevertheless, the imperialists must be heedful of the Soviet Union and of the entire socialist camp and fear to start wars among themselves. They try to muffle their disagreements.... In the existing conditions wars are most probable not between capitalist, imperialist countries, although them, too, should not be discounted."**

Discord and conflicts in the imperialist camp and its general weakening do not mean that its aggressive policy has been blunted and the war danger emanating from it has been banished. The American monopolies are making terrific profits on military deliveries and they do not want to wind up their colossal war-economy apparatus. The American military and the American monopolies find it hard to give up their insane idea of a preventative war,*** the gambling "liberation doctrine,"**** the manslaughtering nuclear - blow strategy, its brute "anti-communism." West German militarism and revanchism is a most dangerous source of the military threat in Europe. In the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, the war threat is inseparably associated with imperialist colonialism which does not want to give up its profits and privileges, and is resorting to the most brutal, piratical, aggressive methods of struggle, to mention but the most outrageous murder of the hero African patriot Patrice Lumumba, the leader of the Congolese people.

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* "U.S. News and World Report," Jan. 16, 1961

** N.S. Khrushchov For New Victories of the World Communist Movement. Moscow, 1961 p. 23

*** It is in reality to the defense of a preventative war that Prof. Bernard Brodie, known for his statements on questions of military policy, devotes his book (Strategy in the Missile Age. Princeton. 1959).

**** It is enough to mention the "manifesto" of the extreme reactionary wing of Republican senators headed by Goldwater published at the beginning of 1961 (it is a program for the restoration of capitalism and imperialism in the socialist countries), or similar utterances in certain official statements ("Izvestia," Jan. 16, 1961).

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However, times have changed. "The preponderance of strength of the forces of socialism over imperialism, of the forces of peace over the forces of war, is becoming increasingly manifest in the world arena," declared the Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties in its Statement. The international situation is changing steadily to the disadvantage of the imperialist instigators of war and in favor of the peoples which are fighting for peace, national independence and social progress. An entirely new historical situation has taken shape; it affords the possibility for finding new solutions to fundamental questions connected with the international relations of our age.

V.

Lenin's definition of the question of war and peace as the key question of the entire policy of all the countries of the world has a still more powerful ring in our days. The fact that the scientific and technical revolution in the military sphere has created an entirely new situation must not be ignored.

According to the information of the U.S. Congress Commission on Atomic Energy, a nuclear bombardment with the use of 263 nuclear charges with a total of 1,446 megatons against 224 targets would result in 50 million killed and 20 million wounded in the U.S.A., in the destruction of 12 million houses and in damage to another 10 million (the total amounting to almost 50 per cent of all the housing in the U.S.A.).* According to British information, a few dozen H-bombs would be enough not only for destroying the entire population of Great Britain, but also for making the British Isles uninhabited for all times.** The first world war carried off 10 million lives, the second world war--about 30 million, and a third war would carry off hundreds of million lives; it would be a terrible catastrophe for the whole of mankind.

Fortunately, the possibility has arisen in the new historic conditions for preventing war and for excluding it subsequently from the life of society for ever. The times referred to by Lenin when he wrote that "literally a few hundred multi-millionaires and millionaires hold the destinies of the whole world in their hands,"*** are past for ever. War is no longer inevitable, because the balance of forces in the world arena has changed radically in favor of the forces of peace. Another war can be prevented by the combined action and active struggle of all the peace-loving forces. And in the next few years, when the world socialist system will achieve preponderance in material production, when the zone of peace will be still greater and the public forces which stand for peace will become still stronger, it will then be possible to exclude war from the life of society even if capitalism survives in a part of the world.

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* "The New York Times," Aug. 31, 1959
** "The Daily Worker," Oct. 4, 1960
*** V.I. Lenin, Coll. Works, Russ.4th ed., Vol. 22, p. 92

[redacted]

The forces of peace already possess experience in the prevention of wars which are being prepared and in ending wars already in progress. From Truman's memoirs it is known that the plan of the most adventurist circles of the U.S.A. to carry the war from Korea to China's territory and to use atomic weapons was foiled thanks to the fact that the ruling circles of the U.S.A. and of other NATO countries were justifiably afraid of the intervention of the U.S.S.R. on behalf of China and also thanks to the protest of the widest sections of public opinion. MacArthur's resignation in April, 1951 was connected with the failure of this plan.*

In 1951-1953, the British imperialists were nurturing plans for military intervention in Iran following the nationalization of the British oil company. And again they were stopped by fear of Soviet intervention on behalf of Iran.**

In 1954, as Eden describes in his memoirs, the American imperialists prepared a plan for direct military intervention in the war in Indochina, which was to include a military blockade of China. The European NATO allies of the U.S.A. were expected to take part in that intervention. This plan was foiled, thanks in particular to the opposition of the European allies of the U.S.A. who understood that an armed intervention would meet with a rebuff from the entire socialist camp.***

A vivid historic example of the grown authority and influence of the world socialist system and of its role in ending the wars unleashed by the imperialists is afforded by the Suez events when the war was stopped by the unambiguous warning of the Soviet Government.

All this refers to local wars, but any local war is pregnant with the danger of a world war. Precisely the growing might of the socialist camp and the active struggle conducted by all the peace-loving forces did not allow the imperialists to break the general peace in the last few years. And in the future as well the maintenance of peace and prevention of war will depend upon this might and activity. A warning against underestimations of the danger of war and against the underestimation of the forces of peace and of the possibility of preventing another world war was sounded by the Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties.

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* Cf. "Memoirs by Harry S. Truman," Vol. II. "Years of Trial and Hope," New York, 1956, pp. 421,440.

** Cf. Report of the London Royal Institute of International Relations "Atlantic Alliance." London, 1959, p. 13

*** Cf. "The Memoirs of the Rt. Hon. Sir Anthony Eden. Full Circle." London, 1960, pp. 91-116

A world without wars is inseparable from a world without armaments. If there is the will to exclude war from the life of society, then it is entirely unnecessary to conduct an arms race, to stockpile weapons of mass destruction and to sustain the monstrous burden of militarization. Furthermore, armaments are not only a means of implementing a definite policy: they themselves become a source of the war danger. There is a grain of truth in the rather paradoxical statement of C.W. Mills, that the direct cause of a third world war would be the preparations for it.*

Lastly, is there a better way of easing international tensions, of creating an atmosphere of confidence among nations, of making war impossible, than the destruction of all the material means of warfare, that general and complete disarmament?! Not partial, not half-hearted measures, but general and complete disarmament under strict international control has become the imperative demand of progressive mankind. This demand is embodied in the historic proposals of the Soviet Union laid before the Fourteenth, and, later, before the Fifteenth General Assembly of the United Nations by the head of the Soviet Government N.S. Khrushchov. "Only general and complete disarmament can assure an enduring peace and tranquility to mankind," declared N.S. Khrushchov.**

The Soviet project does not offer any unilateral advantages to any of the sides. Characteristically enough, the great socialist power proposes to liquidate military might although it is the strongest military power in the world. The new Administration of the United States has been indulging in talk about the need for overcoming its "military backwardness" as compared with the U.S.S.R. using it as an argument for justifying an intensification in the arms drive. Would it not be simpler to work for equality through the progressive reduction and complete destruction of armaments, rather than by increasing armaments?

The Soviet program takes into account all the reasonable proposals of the Western powers. The Soviet project contains a detailed plan of measures for effective control of disarmament. As N.S. Khrushchov has stated, the Soviet Union is prepared to accept any forms of control proposed by the Western powers if the latter will agree to general and complete disarmament.

What then prevents the Western powers from accepting the Soviet proposals? Why should they resort to various maneuvres and delays with the object of sabotaging disarmament,

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* C. Wright Mills. The Causes of World War Three. New York, 1958, p. 47

** N.S. Khrushchov. For Peace, for Disarmament, For the Freedom of the Peoples. Moscow, 1960, p. 89

and going so far as to step back on their own proposals as soon as the latter are accepted by the Soviet Union? Why have they been delaying even so comparatively a simple matter as an agreement to stop nuclear test explosions?

There can be only one answer to all these questions. What the war monopolies, the militarists and the most reactionary aggressive circles of the Western Powers are interested in is not peace, not disarmament, but war and aggression, continuation of the "cold war" and arms race which are a source of enrichment and political advantages to them.

There is still another circumstance which affects the mood even of the more moderate and sober bourgeois circles. I have in mind the fact that consciousness lags behind material life. Minerva's owl flies at night (i.e., wisdom comes later), Marx used to say. People continue to entertain old ideas about war, about armaments, although the entire situation has undergone a radical change and nuclear war cannot be an instrument of politics. Eminent professors and political leaders, who are well aware of the suicidal nature of a nuclear war for the U.S.A. cooperated in the preparation of some 15 reports on various aspects of American foreign policy for the Foreign Relations Committee of the U.S. Senate. But none of these reports contains the demand or advice for rejecting the idea of war as a method of settling international disputes. On the contrary, they either analyze various versions of war, or insist that the impossibility of war should not be accepted as a premise.

The report on the developments in military technology and their impact on United States strategy and foreign policy prepared at the Johns Hopkins University advances the following proposition: To argue that the scale of mutual destruction caused in a modern total nuclear war, the scope and intensity of radioactive fallout accompanying it are enough to make a nuclear war "suicidal," and, consequently, "impossible," is to evade the answer to the most serious military problem ever faced by the nation.* Another report prepared by the Rockefeller Foundation (this report is not included in the series ordered by the Senate Committee) rejects the policy of peace plainly and cynically: A free nation, which dreams of peace and of nothing else, will get this peace only at the cost of freedom.**

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* United States Foreign Policy. Developments in Military Technology and Their Impact on United States Strategy and Foreign Policy. A Study Prepared at the Request of the Committee on Foreign Relations, United States Senate, by the Washington Center of Foreign Policy Research, the Johns Hopkins University, 86th Congress, 1st Session, Washington, 1959, pp.4-5.

** "U.S. News and World Report," Dec. 21, 1959, p. 52

The United States monopoly circles cannot conceive of a world without war and without armaments. To the Soviet principle of "controlled disarmament" they counterpose "control of armament," which amounts to the legalization of a further arms drive. Some are inclined to give a fairly wide interpretation of the concept of control, saying: An effective system of control over armament will create in Russia an open society. In American bourgeois literature, the terms "open" and "closed" societies are synonyms of the capitalist and socialist societies. Consequently, some circles in the U.S.A. regard control no more and no less as a means of restoring capitalist orders in the socialist countries. It is clear that this "control" has nothing in common with disarmament. On the contrary, it is a means of continuing the "cold war" and arms drive.

The sophistries about "nuclear equilibrium," "balance of fear," and "nuclear containment" as an alleged guarantee of peace have become widely current in the Western countries. It is, however, known from history that an "armed peace" and "balance of power politics" have never ensured peace; on the contrary, they invariably brought about outbreaks of war. At the Pugwash conference in Moscow the following information was cited: American historians have calculated that 1,656 arms races and "balance of power" situations occurred in the world from the year 650 to our era and down to our days, and in 1,640 cases .. (in 99% of cases) these races ended in wars.

The disarmament program encounters stubborn opposition from the ruling circles of modern capitalism, but it has the active support of the popular masses in all countries. The Moscow Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties pointed out that the "implementation of the program advanced by the Soviet Union for general and complete disarmament would have been of historic importance for the destinies of mankind." It urged all the peace-loving forces to achieve, by means of an active and determined struggle, the isolation of the aggressive circles and to force the capitalist governments to consent to an agreement on general disarmament, to peaceful coexistence.

The Communist and Workers' Parties raised aloft the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence, the only alternative to a nuclear war.

The Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties emphasized that they reject any interference in the internal affairs of other countries, any "export of revolution," and declared at the same time a resolute struggle against the imperialist export of counter-revolution.

Communism needs no wars for the dissemination of its ideas. The Communists reject with contempt the slanderous myth circulated by the bourgeoisie that they are banking on war.

Peace is the stake of socialism. "Peace," declares the Statement of the Moscow Conference, "is a true ally of socialism, because time is working for socialism and against capitalism."

It is known that the two world wars culminated in socialist revolutions, and there can be no doubt that another world war would bring about the complete end of capitalism. Nevertheless, Marxism-Leninism has never considered war an essential prerequisite for revolution. Lenin pointed out that war brings with it barbarism and savagery, that it is the sacred duty of socialists to fight for rooting out wars.

Bourgeois slanderers are trying to defame the principle of peaceful coexistence, to distort its real contents. They picture it as communist propaganda, as a tactical maneuvre by Soviet diplomacy, as an attempt to "lull" the West, and misrepresent peaceful coexistence as a form of the "cold war." These misinterpretations are deliberately distorting the aims and intentions of the Communists. We consider peaceful co-existence not as a form of the "cold war," but the very opposite, as a peaceful companionship and cooperation of nations in an atmosphere of mutual confidence. Communists have nothing in common with any tendencies to rule other nations, to say nothing of the idea of world supremacy.

Communists reject the methods of capitalist diplomacy which are based on lies, cunning, deception, hypocrisy and double-dealing. They adhere to the very opposite methods promulgated long ago in the Inaugural Address of the Workingmen's International Association (First International) and declaring that it is the duty of the working people "to vindicate the simple laws of morals and justice, which ought to govern the relations of private individuals, as the rules paramount of the intercourse of nations.

"The fight for such a foreign policy forms part of the general struggle for the emancipation of the working classes."

As Lenin emphasized again and again, Soviet, socialist diplomacy has nothing in common with imperialist diplomacy; it acts openly, before the whole world, its deeds do not deviate from its words, it adheres to the principles of honesty and sincerity in politics.*

Peaceful coexistence does not presuppose a departure from class positions. On the contrary, it is a historically evolved form of class struggle in existing conditions. In the West it is sometimes asked whether coexistence as co-operation between the two systems is compatible with co-existence as a struggle between the two systems (in the economic, ideological and other spheres).

* V.I. Lenin. Coll. Works, Russ. 4th ed., Vol. 31, p.110; Vol.33, p. 124; "Lenin Miscellany XXI," p. 63

But this is the dialectics of historic development: the methods of struggle and cooperation are mutually intertwined and mutually penetrating in the relations between the two world class forces, rising socialism and vanishing capitalism. Moreover, the following points should be remembered. Firstly, the struggle between the two systems is an objective social process which it is given to no one to abolish or revoke. The outcome of this struggle is being decided by history. Secondly, this struggle possesses a special nature, it must not be understood in a vulgar way. In the West, for example, there is much noise around "the economic challenge of communism," but the economic progress of the U.S.S.R. does not disturb in the least and does not injure the economy of the U.S.A.; the improvements in the living standard of the peoples of the U.S.S.R. do not tend in the least to reduce the living standard in the U.S.A. Thirdly and lastly, the essential purpose of peaceful coexistence is precisely to restrict the struggle between the two systems (ideological dispute, economic competition, settlement of international conflicts, etc.) to peaceful methods only, i.e., to exclude war from the life of society.

Lenin's principle of peaceful coexistence has become an irrevocable law in social relations, the law of the self-preservation of mankind in our era. In practice, the entire foreign policy of the Soviet Union and of all the socialist countries amounts to the implementation of the principle of peaceful coexistence. This line lies at the basis of the demands and proposals for disarmament, for eradicating the remnants of the second world war, for the conclusion of a peace treaty with Germany and for settling the Berlin question; for making the organizational pattern of the executive bodies of UNO correspond to the real situation so as to convert it into an effective and truly universal instrument of peace and international cooperation; for ensuring the freedom and national self-determination of all the nations of the world; for organizing extensive international cooperation in the spheres of economy, science and culture with the object of raising the living and cultural levels of all mankind.

The Soviet Union has made special efforts to normalize and improve Soviet-American relations, believing that the ending of the "cold war," achievement of an agreement on disarmament and consolidation of world peace depended in many respects upon this improvement. In his message to John Kennedy in connection with his election to the presidency of the U.S.A., N.S. Khrushchov wrote: We are convinced that there are no obstacles which could not be surmounted on the way to the preservation and consolidation of the peace. For the sake of this aim, we, on our part, are prepared to continue our efforts to solve so urgent a problem as disarmament, to settle the German problem on the basis of the earliest conclusion of a peace treaty and achieve agreement on other questions the settlement of which would ease existing tensions and improve the entire international atmosphere.

Any moves in this direction will always meet with full understanding and support on the part of the Soviet Government.*

x x x

The entire development of international relations at the new stage of the general crisis of capitalism, and as a matter of fact, world developments in general, are indicative of the ideological victory of Marxism-Leninism, of the correctness of its scientific previsions in the sphere of social relations. Precisely Marxism-Leninism, the living, creative and steadily developing teaching, gives to mankind the answer to the most burning problem of war and peace; it holds out before mankind the bright prospect of deliverance from wars right at the existing stage and indicates to it the sure way of achieving this noble aim.

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*"Pravda," Nov. 10. 1960

(World Economy and International Relations No. 4)

[redacted]

CHINA STANDS FOR PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE

Chen Yi Gives Interview to Canadian Correspondents

PEKING, July 7 (TASS). The Sinhua agency reports that the Deputy Premier of the State Council and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China Chen Yi, who is now in Geneva, gave a TV interview to Russell Sperr and Alexander de Fontaine, correspondents of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation.

Asked about his opinion on the attempt made by the USA to restrict the trade of Canada and other countries with China, Chen Yi said that this was one of the manifestations of the US hostile policy towards the Chinese people. The monopoly circles, which control the US government, he declared, not only want the American people to cherish hostility for the Chinese people, but are also forcing other countries to join them in their position of hostility to the Chinese people. China naturally wants to conduct normal trade with Canada and other countries. But, remarked Chen Yi, China is a big country and by no means does it live by this trade alone. Incidentally this hostile American polic towards China should make all countries, which want to trade normally with China, think of what the result of following the USA would be.

One of the correspondents put the following question: Do you see any possibility of settling the dispute between China and the United States? To this Chen Yi replied: The USA is forcibly occupying the Chinese territory of Taiwan. The Chinese people come out resolutely against this policy of aggression and intervention pursued by the United States. Such is the essence of the Chinese-American disputes. Were the USA to withdraw all its armed forces from Taiwan and the area of the Taiwan Straits, and put a stop to its intervention into the home affairs of China, then it is quite possible that these disputes could be settled peacefully. We, said Chen Yi, want and strive to settle these differences in a peaceful way. We have been acting in accordance with this for 11 years already. But the possibility of settling this question depends exclusively on the USA. We are perfectly certain that however long the USA may continue to occupy Taiwan, the latter will be rejoined to its native lands in the end. The longer the USA postpones a settlement of this question, the more disadvantageous the position in which it will find itself.

Replying to the question on what conditions China would join the UNO, Chen Yi stated: Actually China is a member of the UN and a permanent member of the Security Council. The representatives of the People's Republic of China must, of course, take their place at the General Assembly and in the Security Council The assertions made by some people that China does not want to join the UN are absolutely unfounded. Until now China has been unable to re-establish its place in the UN, chiefly because the UN, being controlled by the USA, stubbornly presents the handful of Chiang Kai-shekites, fostered by the United

States, as the representatives of China, and permits them to usurp China's place. Now certain circles are trying to persist in the refusal to restore China's lawful place in the UN by keeping the Chiang Kai-shekites there, while at the same time they are spreading rumours to the effect that China does not want to join the UN. That is a conspiracy. People of justice and good will throughout the world must expose and foil this conspiracy.

Speaking of China's policy with regard to the national revolutions in Asia, Africa and Latin America, Chen Yi said: The Chinese people are very glad to see that in recent years the struggle of the peoples of Asian, African and Latin-American countries for the achievement and preservation of national independence and freedom has developed swiftly. Victory in this struggle depends mainly on the efforts made by the peoples of these countries themselves. We sympathise with them and decisively support their struggle. Such is China's immutable position. We support them because their struggle is just and promotes the preservation of world peace, but by no means for the purpose of exporting revolution. We, Marxists, have always held that a revolution cannot be exported. The social system chosen by the peoples of any given country is their own affair. It depends on the internal conditions in each country, and must be settled by the peoples of these countries themselves.

Asked whether China approved the convocation of another Bandung Conference, Chen Yi declared that the Chinese Government was in favour of the convocation of a second Afro-Asian conference.

With regard to the peaceful settlement of the Laotian problem, Chen Yi said: The current serious situation in Laos is exclusively the result of American interference. Seven years ago, here in Geneva, China and several other countries discussed the question of the restoration of peace in Indo-China, and agreements were reached which presented a good foundation for ensuring the peace, neutrality and independence of Laos. Unfortunately these agreements were violated by the United States of America, which crudely infringed on the independence and sovereignty of Laos, undermined its neutrality, interfered in its internal affairs, and provoked a civil war in that country.

The peaceful settlement of the Laotian question, emphasised Chen Yi, has both internal and international aspects. The internal problems of Laos can and must be settled only by the Laotians themselves. As for the international aspects of the Laotian question, the necessary conditions must be established by international consultations, in which the Laotian people would be able genuinely to implement their aspirations for independence and neutrality without interference from abroad. For this purpose, the countries participating in the conference must arrive at a clear agreement on the basis of the Geneva agreements of 1954 and by comprehensive consultations, and all of them must jointly pledge to ensure the independence and neutrality of Laos effectively. That precisely is the task of the current Geneva conference.

The peaceful settlement of the Laotian question is the common desire of the Laotians and of all peace-loving countries and peoples. I am sure that if all the countries participating in the conference were to display sincerity, the conference would be able to surmount the various obstacles and difficulties in its way and to arrive at agreements. The Chinese delegation, adhering to its consistent position of respecting the independence and neutrality of Laos, will continue to work tirelessly for a peaceful settlement of the Laotian problem.

A Canadian correspondent asked Chen Yi to comment on the reports of the bourgeois press concerning the food situation in China.

In the last three years, said Chen Yi, China suffered such natural calamities as had not occurred in the course of the previous century. This really gave rise to grave difficulties. But at the same time, it should be noted that in spite of these serious natural calamities, we succeeded in preventing famine.

Chen Yi also refuted the fabrications of the bourgeois press concerning Soviet-Chinese relations.

The relations between China and the Soviet Union, as well as the relations among all the socialist countries, he said, are fraternal international relations of an entirely new type. These relations are built on the common basis of Marxism-Leninism, on the principles of proletarian internationalism. These are relations of inviolable solidarity.

China and the Soviet Union have always supported each other, which is a convincing proof of our unity. China has decisively supported and supports the peaceful foreign policy of the Soviet Union, its tireless efforts to relieve international tension, to preserve world peace. The Soviet Union on its part has also given and is giving China support and assistance in the Taiwan question, in the question of the restoration of China's lawful rights in the UN, and also in economic development of China.

The positive results of the Moscow meeting held at the end of last year are yet another proof of the eternal solidarity of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the Soviet Union, China and other countries, of the further growth of this solidarity. The statement of the Moscow meeting serves as the general militant programme of all socialist countries and of the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries. At the same time, said Chen Yi, all the socialist countries and the Communist and Workers' Parties of these countries are absolutely independent. Owing to the differences which exist in their concrete internal and foreign conditions, each of the socialist countries, each of the Communist and Workers' Parties, being guided by the general principles of Marxism-Leninism, pursue their own, independent foreign and internal policy. A constant exchange of opinions takes place between us. All this is in keeping with the principles of Marxism-Leninism and is normal. Moreover it serves as a living proof of the constant strengthening and growth of the unity of the socialist countries, the unity of the Communist

Parties of all countries.

The great unity of China and the Soviet Union, said Chen and the Soviet Union, said Chen Yi in conclusion, is an important earnest of world peace and the progress of mankind. No provocations or calumnies can shake this inviolable solidarity in the least degree.

Chen Yi also denied the ridiculous assertions of the United States that China is an "agressive state."

The version that China is an aggressive or "bellicose" state, he said, is entirely unfounded.

The Chinese people have always supported peace and resolutely oppose aggression. China is a socialist country. It has absolutely no need of colonies. Nor will it ever permit itself to plunder other countries. Such is the firm basis of the peaceful foreign policy which China adheres to consistently. We stand decisively for the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems and are bending tireless efforts to relieve international tension and preserve world peace.

(Pravda, July 8. In full.)

[redacted]

7/19/61

PLAIN TEXT

AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637(41)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

On 7/17/61, NY 694-S* furnished to SAS ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON and GEORGE EDWIN JONES documents which are described below.

These documents were obtained by informant during his stay in Moscow, USSR, from 6/21/61-7/12/61. These documents were furnished to informant by NIKOLAI VLADIMIROVICH MOSTOVETS, Head of North and South American Section of International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CCCPSU) and ALEKSEI ~~and~~ ANDREEVICH GRECHUKHIN, Assistant to MOSTOVETS.

1. Document entitled "China Stands for Peaceful Coexistence" (7/10/61). Two Photostats of this document are enclosed herewith for the Bureau and one Photostat is enclosed for Chicago.

2. Document entitled "International Relations in the New Stage of the General Crisis of Capitalism". Two Photostats of this document are enclosed herewith for the Bureau and one Photostat is enclosed for Chicago.

3 - Bureau (100-428091)(Encls. 8)(RM)
1 - Chicago (134-46-sub B)(Encls. 4)(RM)
1 - New York (134-91)(Iny)(41)
1 - New York (100-134637(41)
1 - Supervisor (41)

GEJ:rvs
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134-91-12609

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FBI — NEW YORK

3. Document entitled "The Leninist National Policy in Action". Two Photostats of this document are enclosed herewith for the Bureau and one Photostat is enclosed for Chicago.

4. Document entitled "Heroic Exploit of the Soviet People" (6/22/61). Two Photostats of this document are enclosed herewith for the Bureau and one Photostat is enclosed for Chicago.

The informant has advised that with reference to dissemination of enclosed documents there appears to be no objection to the dissemination of these documents since the documents would be in the possession of other individuals.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 08-11-2011

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-436091

Washington, D.C.
July 19, 1961

Re: Information Concerning the Mental Condition of Paul Robeson, Sr. and Paul Robeson, Jr.

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished the following information in July, 1961:

According to Nikolai Vladimirovich Mostovets, Head of the North and South American Section of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CC CPSU), the story of the noted singer Paul Robeson, Sr. is a tragic one. That since he arrived in the Soviet Union several years ago, Paul Robeson, Sr. has tried to commit suicide three times, once by hanging and twice by cutting his wrists and that this is a heart breaking case.

Nikolai Mostovets stated that the reason for this is that Paul Robeson, Sr. feels that he should have been the leader of the "Negro Revolution" in the United States and that he has missed out on it and therefore he has no desire to live.

Mostovets further stated that just several days ago in London, England, Paul Robeson, Sr. again slashed his wrists and it is only a miracle that the doctors were able to save him. Mostovets commented that "we" are now flying him back to Moscow and he will be in our care.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

134-91-2610
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Re: Information Concerning the Mental Condition of Paul Robeson, Sr. and Paul Robeson, Jr.

Interviewee further stated that Paul Robeson, Jr., the son of the above-mentioned individual, is possessed with a similar mental sickness.

The couple mentioned above advised that Paul Robeson, Jr., mentioned above, is a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party, United States of America.

7/19/61

AIRTEL REGISTERED

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are seven copies of a letterhead memorandum entitled, "Information Concerning the Mental Condition of Paul Robeson, Sr. and Paul Robeson, Jr."

The source of the information is NY 694-S*, who furnished this information to SAS ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON and GEORGE EDWIN JONES on 7/17/61.

It is noted that in connection with possible Bureau dissemination, the information contained in the letterhead memorandum concerning the conversation is only known to two individuals and the letterhead memorandum is being submitted on the theory that the Bureau might find it necessary to make limited dissemination of this information.

Information contained in the letterhead memorandum is classified ~~"Top Secret"~~ because, by its nature, it tends to disclose NY 694-S* as the source thereof. This informant

3 - BUREAU (100-428091) (Encl. 7) (RM)
1 - CHICAGO (134-46-Sub B) (Encl. 1) (RM)
1 - NY 134-91 (Inv) (41)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

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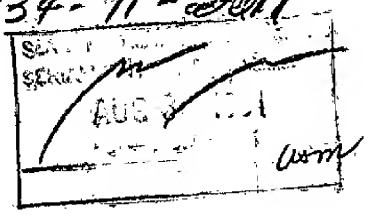

provides extremely high-level intelligence information, and continued acquisition of this information is vital to the national defense interests of this country.

To give added security to this New York informant, the letterhead memorandum is being given a Washington, D.C. dateline as was suggested by the Bureau in their letter of 11/2/60, captioned as above, with respect to information furnished by CG 5824-S*.

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FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 08-11-2011

[redacted]

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Washington, D. C.
July 19, 1961

100-428091

Re: Remarks of a Soviet Official concerning William Z. Foster's Mental Condition

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished the following information in July, 1961:

In July, 1961, Dimitri Shevirgin, a Deputy of Boris Ponomarev, Head of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CCCPSU), made the following comments regarding the mental condition of William Z. Foster, Chairman Emeritus of the Communist Party of the United States of America (CPUSA), who is currently in the Soviet Union:

On Foster's 80th birthday, Premier Khrushchev and members of the CPSU Secretariat visited Foster at a rest home in Barvikhyn, outside Moscow, to pay their respects. Before going to see him, they agreed to avoid any political discussions with Foster and to talk to him only about his health and personal matters.

Upon being introduced to Khrushchev, Foster shouted that he wished to discuss his differences with the CPUSA. Khrushchev told him that he had not come to discuss politics, but only Foster's health. Further, Khrushchev said that the occasion was not opportune for a political discussion. Foster became very angry, and pointing his finger at Otto Kuusinen, member of the Secretariat group present, said, "You are responsible for this. You told them not to listen to me. You are a centrist!" The situation at the moment was tense and embarrassing, in that there were photographers and several other outsiders present. Foster was taken back to his room in a wheel chair. He was told not to excite himself and to rest for a while before having his picture taken with Khrushchev.

134-91-2612

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This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

Re: Remarks of a Soviet Official concerning William Z. Foster's Mental Condition

Vyo Kuusinen, who is an old friend of Foster, was unable to sleep that night by reason of what Foster had said earlier in the day. In the very early morning of the next day, he visited Foster and said, "Why do you accuse me of being a dentrist? What is your definition of a comunist? Perhaps I'll understand you better." Foster paused and heard, but could not give an adequate definition of a comunist. Kuusinen then told Foster that he could not agree with the latter that Kuusinen was a dentrist.

On another occasion, Kuusinen received a message to the effect that he should go to see Foster immediately. Thinking that Foster was dying, Kuusinen hastened to see the latter. Upon arrival at Foster's room, Kuusinen was asked by the latter whether Kuusinen had brought Foster's money. Foster said, "Have ya my money? I must have American dollars." Kuusinen realized that he was dealing with a very sick man, when he had to humor. He returned to Moscow, obtained $100.00 in American money, and took the money to Foster, who, upon receiving it, clutched it and held it close to his chest.

The CIOPSU is at a loss to know what to do about Foster. It would not be unwise, however, to prevent people from seeing him. Consideration must be given to the fact that he is a very sick man, and apparently a paranoiac.

-2-

7/19/61

AIRTEL REGISTERED

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-423091)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

Enclosed herewith are seven copies of a letterhead memorandum reflecting that in the opinion of DIMITRI SHEVLYAGIN, Deputy of BORIS PONOMAREV, Head of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, WILLIAM Z. FOSTER is a paranoiac. The source of the information is NY 694-S*, who furnished this information to SAS ALEXANDER C. DURLINSON and GEORGE EDWIN JONES on 7/17/61.

There is being omitted from the letterhead memorandum information from PEGGY DENNIS with regard to this same subject matter, inasmuch as it is believed that to include the same in the letterhead memorandum could jeopardize the security of NY 694-S*.

According to NY 694-S*, while in Moscow, in July, 1961, he was told the following by PEGGY DENNIS, wife of EUGENE DENNIS, deceased former Chairman of the CPUSA:

PEGGY DENNIS visited FOSTER in Moscow and described their meeting as "very emotional." FOSTER told her that he was extremely sorry that he had not seen EUGENE DENNIS before the latter's death. He then suddenly changed the subject and said, "I hope that they do not make the same mistake that they did in 1951 and go underground. Comrade KHRUSHCHEV and I not

3 - BUREAU (100-423091) (Encl. 7) (RM)
1 - CHICAGO (134-46-Sub B) (Encl. 1) (RM)
(1) - NY 134-91 (NIV) (41)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

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1 - SUP. 41

134-91-2613

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JUL 19 1961
FBI — NEW YORK

"last night and we decided that the Party should not go underground. We decided that the mistake of 1951 should not be repeated, and that's the way it's going to be." (It will be noted that as reported in the letterhead memorandum, there was no discussion between KHRUSHCHEV and FOSTER regarding the underground.)

Information contained in the letterhead memorandum is classified "~~Top Secret~~" because, by its very nature, it would disclose NY 694-S* as the source thereof. This informant provides extremely high-level intelligence information and continued acquisition of this information is vital to the national defense interests of this country.

To give added security to this New York informant, the letterhead memorandum is being given a Washington, D. C., dateline, as was suggested by the Bureau in their letter of 11/2/60, captioned as above, with respect to information furnished by CG 5824-S*.

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DATE 08-11-2011

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

100-445091

Washington, D. C.
July 18, 1961

~~SECRET~~

Re: Report of XIV Congress of the Communist Party of Israel, May 31 - June 3, 1961; Summary of Speech of Comrade Tawfik Tubi

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, in July, 1961, furnished a summary of a speech of Comrade Tawfik Tubi, delivered at the XIV Congress of the Communist Party of Israel (CPI) held in Tel Aviv, May 31 - June 3, 1961.

This summary was made available through the offices of Georg Tobolka of the International Department of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party, who is in charge of "capitalist countries."

The summary of Tawfik Tubi's speech included the following:

Well known is the declaration of the then Head of the Arab Department of the Histadrut, M Barkat, to the effect that the Israeli proletariat had not taken into account in their plans, the existence of an Arab minority within the boundaries of the State. Those words were said although it was a known fact that the United Nations' decision on the partition of Palestine contemplated the existence of 450,000 Arab citizens in the Jewish State. Ben-Gurion's policy of national oppression of the Arabs is the usual concomitant of the social exploitation, characteristic of capitalist society.

~~SECRET~~

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~~NOT SECRET~~

Re: Report of XIV Congress of the Communist Party of Israel, May 31 - June 3, 1961; Summary of Speech of Comrade Tewfik Toubi

Nevertheless, in accordance with the special conditions of our country and with the history of the relations between the Jewish and Arab peoples, the policy of national oppression of the Israeli Arabs has taken on a special character and practices appears as a regular line of action whose purpose is to liquidate the Arab national group by uprooting and dispersing it.

This new stage of this old policy began hardly two months after the conquest of the Arab areas during the years 1948-1949, when the inhabitants of a number of Arab villages were deported, even by force. These operations were suspended only under the pressure of the struggle initiated against them by the Communist Party (CP), which mobilized both the Arab masses and the democratic Jewish forces. However, the reactionary rulers of Israel refused to give up their aims. They simply changed their ways and means of carrying them out.

Ben-Gurion's policy towards the Arabs in Israel is a function of his policy towards the neighboring Arab states. His objective is to create a fait accompli which may enable him to maintain the present status quo and avoid recognizing the Palestinian-Arab people's right to self-determination. Uri Lubrani recognized this when he affirmed that the factors ruling the Government's policies towards the Arabs were land and security, which must be understood as land robbery and muzzling the victims to prevent them from protesting. To carry out this policy, the Ben-Gurion clique has set up a special apparatus - the Military Government.

~~NOT SECRET~~

Re: Report of XIV Congress of the
Communist Party of Israel,
May 31 - June 3, 1961; Summary
Of Speech of Comrade Tamfik Tubi

What is this policy when translated into facts! In the economic field it means strangulation. In agriculture it may take the form of actual plunder through mass deportations or the legal form of expropriation. Between 1949 and 1953, Arab peasants were robbed through the so-called expropriations of 1,230,000 dunams of land. The result of this unmerciful plunder is that the average size of the Arab agricultural unit fell from 67 dunams in the days before the establishment of the State of Israel to 44 dunams in 1951 and 34 dunams in 1960. In 1953, the Land Acquisition Law was enacted to legalize this shameful robbery a posteriori.

This is not the only form of exploitation. Grazing land, on which the peasants flocks depend for their existence, are declared "afforestation zones." Practically no credits are granted to Arab peasants for taxation imposed upon them is among the heaviest. The price for their produce is not less discriminatory against the peasants themselves. Urban areas fare no better. Arab villages and towns are fenced in and strict regulations forbid building outside tightly fixed limits. Inside the towns, economic growth and industrial and commercial development are stifled as much as possible and public services are kept at a shameful low. Only eight out of 100 villages are connected to the electrical network, and these at an exhorbitant cost. The health service extended to the Arab villages is the worst in the country. In almost all the clinics the one and only doctor must examine 100 patients a day; moreover, the patient simply will not find the prescribed medicine in the clinic. In such conditions, it is a wonder how the Arab peasants hold on to their land, or to the right to their land from which they have been driven.

For those who have been forced to search for new ways of livelihood, Ben-Gurion's policy has found new forms of oppression. The worst luck is, of course, that of the 30,000 deportees who are forbidden to return to their homes.

Re: Report of XIV Congress of the Communist Party of Israel, May 31 - June 3, 1961: Summary of Speech of Comrade Meir Vilner

However, those who remain linked to their birthplaces fare no better. All find equal discrimination - jobs they secured are the heaviest, dirtiest and lowest paid. Dwellers work on a piece-meal basis, earning approximately one pound an hour and must work 14 to 16 hours a day. Those employed on the capitalist cattle-raising ranches, earn between 150 and 200 pounds a month and do not get a single day of rest all through the month.

Although officially the Histadrut has opened its doors to the Arab workers its functionaries are too busy protecting organised labor to pay attention to the unorganized Arab worker. When the latter takes the matter of organizing into his own hands, the Histadrut leadership takes its time about receiving him into its ranks. If the Arab workers succeed in joining they are not allowed to handle even their local affairs. The Histadrut has not permitted the establishment of a single elected workers' council in any Arab settlement. Things are worse in the political life. Very few elected local councils have been allowed to emerge. The military government has very little faith in the few leaders it has been able to mobilize for it knows that these have little influence on the Arab masses. Therefore, the military government is constantly resorting to terror, and its policy ranges from warnings to Arab citizens not to engage in subversive activities (that is any form of opposition to the arbitrary policy of Ben-Gurion's Government), to the denial of the elementary movement permits and administrative detentions. A natural culmination of this repressive policy was the unforgivable and shameful killing of peaceful and innocent Arab citizens at Kafr Kassem the time of the Sinai War.

[redacted]

~~Top Secret~~

Re: Report of XIV Congress of the Communist Party of Israel, May 31 - June 3, 1951; Summary of Speech of Comrade Toufik Tubi

The cultural aspect of Arab policy of the ruling Ben-Gurion clique is just as bad as every other one. Ben-Gurion uses every possible chance to boast of how he has brought the Arabs of Israel a higher standard of living particularly of education as compared with the standards enjoyed by the Arabs of neighboring states. This is a lie as statistics will prove. Whereas, in 1950, the proportion of high school graduates to the population of Iraq and Syria was one to 1,000 inhabitants and in Lebanon one to 700, in Israel there was one high school graduate to 2,350 inhabitants. As a natural result the total number of Arab students at the Hebrew University did not even reach the 100 mark. One should not wonder at such a state of affairs, in view of Eshkol's declaration that it would be easier to manage the Arabs if they remained woodcutters and water carriers.

It is absolutely clear that the end to this situation can only be brought about by means of an active and relentless struggle. For this, we must extend and strengthen the unity and solidarity of all Arab and Jewish progressive forces, in the light of our Marxist-Leninist conception. Among the Arabs an important part may be played by the popular Arab front which we must support and fortify. The Arab masses consistently stand against imperialism and for the forces of freedom wherever the struggle may take place: Egypt in 1956; Iraq in 1958, and the Congo, Laos, Cuba and Angola today. They are against Ben-Gurion here in Israel since he is the servant of imperialism and they are against his aim for Israel to be used by his masters as the instrument of these masters.

One of our main tasks is to fight against Arab bourgeois nationalism, whose upholders are precisely Ben-Gurion lackeys among the Arab masses. We must increase our efforts to bring about their downfall simultaneously with the struggle of the Jewish progressive forces, which has made Ben-Gurion's position more and more precarious.

~~Top Secret~~

Re: Report of XIV Congress of the Communist Party of Israel, May 31 - June 3, 1961; Summary of Speech of Comrade Tawfik Toubi

Our efforts have all chances of success even during the worst months of the anti-Communist wave in 1959, the conscious elements of the Arab masses did not lose their heads and our Party remained the strongest Arab political group at the places of the greatest concentration of the Arab population. Although we then lost approximately 2,500 Arab votes, we did keep the core of our strength. Today the situation has changed in our favor, and with the greater experience gained by the masses and by our Party, we must know how to turn our possibilities into deeds.

The Arab masses understand more and more the difference between the CP and other parties. On the basic question of Jewish-Arab relations, all the Zionist parties stand for the denial of the lawful rights of the Palestinian-Arab people and accept Ben-Gurion's slogan of 'not a single foot of land, not a single coffee.'

The Jewish Communists fight for the rights of their Arab brethren, and thereby they render a great service to their own patriotic cause in the spirit of Lenin's words that no people can be free which suppresses another people.

Jewish-Arab collaboration inside the CP is a symbol of the future collaboration between the whole of our two peoples. The day is not far when our struggle will succeed in stamping away from our country both imperialism and the lackeys, and will be able to steer our country to Jewish-Arab fraternity, peace, independence and socialism.

- 6 -

7/19/61

AIRTEL REGISTERED

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

Enclosed herewith are seven copies of a letterhead memorandum, entitled "Report of XIV Congress of the Communist Party of Israel, May 31 - June 3, 1961; Summary of Speech of Comrade Tawfik Tubi." The source of the information is NY 694-S*, who furnished this information to SAS ALEXANDER C. KURLINSON and GEORGE EDWIN JONES on 7/17/61.

The report regarding the Communist Party of Israel Congress was personally given to informant by GEORG ZOLOTKA, of the International Department of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party, who is in charge of "capitalist countries." Informant received the report from ZOLOTKA during the period 7/12-13/61, while informant was in Prague, Czechoslovakia.

It is noted that in connection with possible Bureau dissemination, the information contained in the letterhead memorandum was furnished directly to the informant by ZOLOTKA and the letterhead memorandum was submitted on the theory that the Bureau may find it necessary to make limited dissemination of this information.

3 - BUREAU (100-428091) (Encl. 7) (RM)
1 - CHICAGO (134-46-Sub B) (Encl. 1) (RM)
1 - NY 134-91 (NW) (41)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

GEJ:msb (41)
(7)

1 - SUP. 41

134-91-2615

SEARCHED ... INDEXED ...
SERIALIZED ... FILED ...
JUL 19 1961
FBI — NEW YORK

NY 100-134637

Information contained in the letterhead memorandum is classified "~~Top Secret~~" because, by its very nature, it would disclose NY 694-S* as the source thereof. This informant provides extremely high-level intelligence information and continued acquisition of this information is vital to the national defense interests of this country.

To give added security to this New York informant, the letterhead memorandum is being given a Washington, D. C., dateline, as was suggested by the Bureau in their letter of 11/2/60, captioned as above, with respect to information furnished by CG 5824-S*.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 08-11-2011

~~TOP SECRET~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply Please Refer to File No. 100-[illegible]

Washington, D.C.
July 17, 1961

Re: Jan Valtin and Ten Other Canadian Communist Party Members Attended 'Secret School' in Moscow, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished the following information in July, 1961:

According to Mikhail Nikolaevich Suslov, Head of North and South American Section of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CCCPSU), Jan Valtin and ten other Canadian Communist Party members have attended a secret school in Moscow, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and have finished the one-year course.

According to Suslov, these individuals should have returned to Canada by the first of July, 1961.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency. It and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

134-11-2616

Searched [illegible]

~~TOP SECRET~~

7/19/61

AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are seven (7) copies of a letterhead memo entitled, "Sam Walsh and Ten Other Canadian Communist Party Members Attended 'Secret School' in Moscow, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics."

The source of the info is NY 694-S*, who furnished this info to SAS ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON and GEORGE EDWIN JONES on 7/17/61.

It is noted that in connection with possible Bureau dissemination, the info contained in the letterhead memo concerning the conversation is known only to two individuals and the letterhead memo is being submitted on the theory that the Bureau might find it necessary to make limited dissemination of this info.

Info contained in the letterhead memo is classified "~~Top Secret~~" because, by its nature, it tends to disclose NY 694-S* as the source thereof. This informant provides extremely high-level intelligence information, and continued acquisition of this info is vital to the national defense interests of this country.

3 - Bureau (100-428091) (Enc. 7) (RM)
1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B) (Enc. 1) (RM)
1 - NY 134-91 (Inv.) (41)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

GEJ:gmc
(7)

134-11-3617

NY 100-134637

To give added security to this New York informant, the letterhead memo is being given a Washington, D.C. dateline as was suggested by the Bureau in their letter of 11/2/60, captioned as above, with respect to info furnished by CG 5824-S*.

7/19/61

PLAIN TEXT

AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

On 7/17/61, NY 694-S* furnished to SAS ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON and GEORGE EDWIN JONES the "Program of the Soviet Aviation Show" which took place in Moscow, USSR, on Sunday, 7/9/61.

The informant advised that he attended this air show and was escorted there by IDA STALROVA GORBANOV whom informant described as knowing nothing at all regarding airplanes. GORBANOV, according to informant, is presently escorting ELIZABETH HALL around the Soviet Union.

Two Photostats of this program is enclosed herewith for the Bureau. One Photostat is enclosed herewith for Chicago.

3 - Bureau (100-428091)(Encls. 2)(RM)
1 - Chicago (134-46-sub B)(Encl. 1)(RM)
1 - New York (134-91)(Inv)(41)
1 - New York (100-13463741)
1 - Supervisor (41)

GEJ:rvs
(7)

134-91-2618

SERIALIZED FILED
JUL 19 1961
FBI—NEW YORK

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 08-11-2011

~~TOP SECRET~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply Please Refer to
File No [illegible]-428091

Washington, D C
July 19, 1961

Re: Invitation of Albanian Communist Party to Members of World Federation of Trade Unions to visit Albania

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished the following information in July, 1961.

According to Pearl Wedro, who is in charge of North America for the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) in Prague, Czechoslovakia, the Albanian Communist Party has invited people who work in the WFTU to come from capitalist countries to spend two-weeks vacation as their guest. Wedro stated that this is most interesting inasmuch as the WFTU has been unable to get anyone into Albania recently. Pearl Wedro noted that, apparently, the Albanians are trying to speak to these WFTU members regarding their (Albanian) position

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is a loan to your agency. It and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

134-91-2619

Searched
Ser a[illegible]
In
F[illegible]

~~TOP SECRET~~

7/19/61

AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are seven (7) copies of a letterhead memo entitled, "Invitation of Albanian Communist Party/Members of World Federation of Trade Unions to Visit Albania."

The source of the info is NY 694-S*, who furnished this info to SAS ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON and GEORGE EDWIN JONES on 7/17/61.

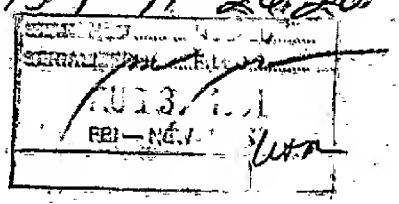
It is noted that in connection with possible Bureau dissemination, the info contained in the letterhead memo concerning the conversation is known only to two individuals and the letterhead memo is being submitted on the theory that the Bureau might find it necessary to make limited dissemination of this info.

Info contained in the letterhead memo is classified, ~~"Top Secret"~~ because, by its nature, it tends to disclose NY 694-S* as the source thereof. This informant provides extremely high-level intelligence info, and continued acquisition of this info is vital to the national defense interests of this country.

3 - Bureau (100-428091) (Enc. 7) (RM)
1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B) (Enc. 1) (RM)
1 - NY 134-91 (Inv.) (41)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

EJ:gmg
(7)

134-91-26.20



NY 100-134637

To give added security to this New York informant, the letterhead memo is being given a Washington, D.C. dateline as was suggested by the Bureau in their letter of 11/2/60, captioned as above, with respect to info furnished by CG 5824-S*.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 08-11-2011

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply Please Refer to File No

100-425091

Washington, D. C.
July 10, 1961

~~SECRET~~

Re: Report of XIV Congress of the Communist Party of Israel, May 31 - June 3, 1961; Condensation of Report of the Central Committee of Communist Party of Israel Given at the Opening Session of the Congress, May 31, 1961

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, in July, 1961, furnished a condensation of a report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel (CPI) given by the General Secretary, Samuel Mikunis, at the opening session of the CPI's XIV National Congress.

The opening session took place in Tel Aviv, on May 31, 1961, before an audience composed of delegates to the Party's Congress from seven fraternal parties and others who packed the cinema hall in Yaffa, where the Congress was held.

This condensation was made available through the offices of Georg Zobotka of the International Department of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party who is in charge of capitalist countries.

The condensation included the following:

The XIV Congress of the CPI charts the path to the unity of the working class, to wide national democratic unity, for the unity of all patriots and progressives in the fight against imperialism, against foreign monopoly capital, against its Israeli partners and the ruling militarists in our land who do their bidding. It charts the path in the fight for a basic transformation of the policy and governments of Israel; for an Israeli policy of peace, independence, neutrality, democracy, fraternity of peoples and social and cultural progress.

134-91-2621

Searched _____
Se[illegible] _____
I[illegible] _____
Filed _____

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the [illegible] property of [illegible] to your agency [illegible] are not to be [illegible] outside your agency

~~SECRET~~

[redacted]

Re: Report of XIV Congress of the Communist Party of Israel, May 31 - June 3, 1951; Condemnation of Report of the Central Committee of Communist Party of Israel Given at the Opening Session of the Congress, May 31, 1951

The burning questions of our time are the prevention of a new world war, general and complete disarmament, the liberation of the colonial peoples, and the establishment of lasting peace. The times have come in which the imperialists could decide arbitrarily whether there will be war. Forces exist today which appreciate the aggressive schemes of the imperialists. The combined strength of the Soviet Union and the other socialist lands, as well as all forces for peace, make it possible to prevent the unleashing of another world war. The foreign policy of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries enlists the enthusiastic support of the peoples because it is consistent and principled; because it is a policy for peaceful co-existence and competition; because this policy embodies concrete suggestions for an end to the cold war. The different situation prevailing in the country today as compared with the situation when the XIII Congress was held firmly corresponds in the severe crisis of Ben-Gurion's rule and politics. Within the short period of a year's time since the last elections were held, not only our Communist Party (CP) but all other parties in Israel declared their opposition to the establishment of a cabinet headed by Ben-Gurion's party. A wide and vigorous opposition to his leadership developed. This shows in the political arena reflects the deep changes taking place within the masses and their bitterness and disappointment with the fruits of Ben-Gurion's rule. The revelations concerning the affair centered a wide open movement criticizing various aspects of Ben-Gurion's line. The class struggle and the fight of the Arab population against national oppression have likewise intensified. During the period between Congresses, our Party was the only labor opposition in the Parliament and in the Histadrut. On the international situation, the enormous practical of the Soviet Union and all the socialist countries stems from the correct answers given to the problems of our time and the fact that all the historic victories of the socialist system are placed at the disposal of the fight for peace, national liberation, democracy and progress, for the

[redacted]

Re: Report of XIV Congress of the Communist Party of Israel, May 31 - June 3, 1961; Condensation of Report of the Central Committee of Communist Party of Israel Given at the Opening Session of the Congress, May 31, 1961

whole of humanity. The deep humanistic traditions of Soviet policies find their noble expression in the call made by Comrade Khrushchev to all nations, on the day of Gagarin's historic flight to the cosmos, for peace and total disarmament.

The epochal victories of the peoples over colonialism were made possible by the all-sided support of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries to their just struggle. From the Congress we send the warmest of greetings to the heroic people of Algeria, Cuba, Laos and the Congo; to all the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, struggling against colonialism and neocolonialism, for peace, national independence and progress.

The official politics of Israel pass us in a direction diametrically opposed to the national interests of Israel and the progressive historical processes of our day. The roots of the crisis in Ben-Gurion's rule lay in the fact that the recent years have found the rulers of Israel hurry harnessing our country even more to the most extreme and aggressive forces of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) in Algeria service to the Bonn militarists and the French colonialists side by side with increased subservience to American finance capital. With the formation of the Quatro in Africa, the Government entered the service of the colonialists, and with the latter's backing representatives of our country appear in those countries to assist the neo-colonialists in the preservation and expansion of their positions. This activity, together with Israeli voting in the United Nations (UN) General Assembly for the colonialists, doomed the attempts to forge real links with those new nations since true friendship can be based only on Israeli support for their anti-colonialist struggle.

[redacted]

Re: Report of XIV Congress of the Communist Party of Israel, May 31 - June 3, 1961; Condemnation of Report of the Central Committee of Communist Party of Israel Given at the Opening Session of the Congress, May 31, 1961

One of the reasons for Ben-Gurion's trip to Canada and the United States is his concern at the widespread public questioning of his militaristic, adventuristic and pro-western policies. Ben-Gurion is trying to drum up a little warmth in an attempt to build up his prestige toward the coming elections, in addition to his desire to try and clear up a few unpleasant misunderstandings with the administration of President Kennedy which likewise stem from the weaknesses in Ben-Gurion's line.

In regard to the Eichmann trial, from the minute of Eichmann's capture our Party proposed the proper method of preparing the trial. We held that the trial must expose the full scope of the Hitlerite crimes and the holocaust of European Jewry. The purpose of the trial should be not only dealing out the death verdict to the mass murderer, Eichmann, but also the historical and political condemnation of Nazism, German militarism, anti-Semitism and racism. The Government chose a different path: it tried to separate the guilt of the masses of its connections with neo-Nazi Germany and to narrow the scope of the trial in order to spare the partner in the disgusting collusion between Ben-Gurion and Konrad Adenauer. Israeli public opinion and progressive public opinion the world over have caused the Eichmann trial to break out of the straight jacket imposed by Ben-Gurion and Adenauer as the incrimination of Hans Globke shows. If there is no letup in the pressure of public opinion, the trial may reveal more of the truth about Eichmann's partners remaining in Bonn and other Capitalist countries. Particularly abhorrent is the attempt of Israeli rulers to seek an anti-Soviet slander in this context. The truth is unimportant for these types; all important for them are the lie and anti-Soviet defamation. The anger of Israeli rulers stems from the fact that the Soviet and Communist press exposed the attempt to keep Hans Globke and his ilk out of the trial.

- 15 -

[redacted]

~~SECRET~~

Re: Report of XIV Congress of the Communist Party of Israel, May 31 - June 3, 1961; Condensation of Report of the Central Committee of Communist Party of Israel Given at the Opening Session of the Congress, May 31, 1961

In regard to the struggle of our Party for peace between Israel and the Arab countries, the basic premises of our Party for the solution of the Israeli-Arab conflict are the right of self-determination, the fact that Palestine has historically become the homeland of two peoples, Jews and Arabs; and the necessity and possibility of inquiring the just national demands of both peoples, the duty and the possibility of solving this problem by peaceful methods, by negotiations and mutual agreement. In the light of these needs, we demand that the Government of Israel recognize the just national rights of the Palestinian-Arab people and eliminate the grave historical injustice done to that people. The people of Israel also need the recognition of the Arab states for their rights. To achieve this recognition for Israel we must recognize the right of the refugees to return to their homeland or to receive compensation if they choose not to return. We must be willing to exchange the temporary armistice demarcation lines for fixed and peaceful borders. All this is on the basis of the right to national self-determination. The recognition of the just national interests of Israel include the right of free passage in the Suez, an end to the Arab boycott, mutual agreement for the exploitation of water sources and the recognition of the state of Israel. Meanwhile the militaristic rulers of Israel base their plans on a military showdown against the Arab countries. This line is based upon the premise that in return for their services the colonialists will back up the Israeli militarists. This orientation is the source of the main dangers confronting our country. Our Party firmly opposes the designs of the Israeli militarists just as we oppose the warlike declarations of Arab rulers on their intention to destroy Israel. War cannot solve the problems of the peoples.

~~SECRET~~

[redacted]

Re: Report of XIV Congress of the Communist Party of Israel, May 31 - June 3, 1961; Condemnation of Report of the Central Committee of Communist Party of Israel Given at the Opening Session of the Congress, May 31, 1961

The rulers of Israel are continuing and even stepping up the anti-Arab persecution and discrimination in public life in the economic and cultural spheres. However, the recent past has seen a steady increase in the number of political parties and groups favoring the abolition of military government and opposing the national persecution of the Arab population.

All these policies of Ben-Gurion's regime are inimical to the national interests of Israel and our people and opposed to the vital historical processes of our time.

Our Party calls for the creation of a united working class front as the basis for forging a national democratic front. We are ready to cooperate with all working class parties on an agreed platform and we stand for cooperation with other popular strata and with the petty and national bourgeoisie. The defense of the interests of the working class and all toilers in town and country, the defense of national independence and support for the cause of peace, can serve as the basis for this cooperation. Towards the elections we turned to the central bodies of Mapam and Ahdut Avodah suggesting the establishment of a working class front which would include the democratic, anti-Ben-Gurion wing of Mapai. The leaders of Mapam and Ahdut Avodah rejected our proposal and in so doing served the interests of local and foreign reaction. In the light of the splitting tactics of these parties we call on the workers and all democrats to strengthen our Party for the coming elections.

On the ideological front the deep crisis in the Zionist movement today is a reflection of the crisis within the imperialist system and its degeneration. The anti-Soviet and anti-Communist slander of the Zionist leaders reveal their class base. We counterpose to their bourgeois nationalism the Marxist-Leninist solution of the Jewish problem based on full equality to the Jewish masses. Historical

[redacted]

[redacted]

Re: Report of XIV Congress of the Communist Party of Israel, May 31 - June 3, 1961; Condensation of Report of the Central Committee of Communist Party of Israel Given at the Opening Session of the Congress, May 31, 1961

experience has proven that the victorious forces of revolution bring salvation and prosperity to the Jewish masses whereas the enemies of progress identify themselves with anti-Jewish persecution and extermination.

In regard to our partisan program the victory of socialism in Israel is our basic aim. We prefer to reach this noble revolutionary goal by peaceful methods. In regard to our relations with the Communist movement we can today announce the growth of solidarity between our Party and other sister parties. We rejoice at the strong growth of the international communist movement and its increased influence which found expression in the consultation of communist parties in Moscow last November. This consultation increased the unity and solidarity of the world movement on the foundations of Marxism-Leninism and Proletarian Internationalism. The historic documents adopted at the consultation have become the banner and the steady compass in the struggle for peace, democracy, national independence and socialism. The Yugoslavian brand of revisionism has been ideologically vanquished in the ranks of the communist movement. The world communist movement, including our Party, expresses its solidarity with the communist parties and all the consistent democratic and anti-imperialist forces in our region, in Egypt, Syria and Iraq and other countries in their struggle against the cruel terror against the most loyal sons of their peoples in their fight for peace, for democratic freedoms and for social progress. The internal struggles in the United Arab Republic and in Iraq are aimed at eliminating the contradiction between the neutralist foreign policy and the reactionary internal policy.

[redacted]

~~SECRET~~

Re: Report of XIV Congress of the Communist Party of Israel, May 31 - June 3, 1961; Condemnation of Report of the Central Committee of Communist Party of Israel Given at the Opening Session of the Congress, May 31, 1961

In regard to the Party, the last card exchange which took place this January showed that in the preceding year the Party membership increased seven per cent. Our XIV Party Congress meets with the Party ideologically, politically and organizationally on the basis of victorious Marxism-Leninism. Our path is just and will be victorious.

~~SECRET~~

7/19/61

AIRTEL REGISTERED

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

Enclosed herewith are seven copies of a letterhead memorandum, entitled "Report of XIV Congress of the Communist Party of Israel, May 31 - June 3, 1961; Condensation of Report of the Central Committee of Communist Party of Israel Given at the Opening Session of the Congress, May 31, 1961." The source of the information is NY 694-S*, who furnished this information to SAS ALEXANDER C. KURLANSON and GEORGE EDWIN JONES on 7/17/61.

The report regarding the Communist Party of Israel Congress was personally given to informant by GEORG ZODOTKA, of the International Department of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party, who is in charge of "capitalist countries." Informant received the report from ZODOTKA during the period 7/12-13/61, while informant was in Prague, Czechoslovakia.

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3 - BUREAU (100-428091) (Encl. 7) (RM)
1 - CHICAGO (134-46-Sub 1) (Encl. 1) (RM)
1 - NY 134-91 (INV) (41)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

GMJ:mab (41)
(7)

1 - SUP. 41

134-91-2622

SEARCHED ... INDEXED ...
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JUL 19 1961
FBI - NEW YORK

Information contained in the letterhead memorandum is classified "~~Top Secret~~" because, by its very nature, it would disclose NY 694-S* as the source thereof. This informant provides extremely high-level intelligence information and continued acquisition of this information is vital to the national defense interests of this country.

To give added security to this New York informant, the letterhead memorandum is being given a Washington, D. C., dateline, as was suggested by the Bureau in their letter of 11/2/60, captioned as above, with respect to information furnished by CG 5824-S*.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 08-11-2011

~~[illegible]~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply Please Refer to
File No. 103-[illegible]

Washington, D.C.
July 19, 1961

Re: Subscriptions to Communist Party, United States of America (CPUSA) Publications By International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CCCPSU)

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished the following information in July, 1961:

According to Nikolai Vladimirovich Mostovets, Head of the North and South American Section of the International Department of the CCCPSU, and Aleksei Andreevich Grechukhin, Assistant to Mostovets, and also Head of the United States Section of the International Department of the CCCPSU, the International Department of the CCCPSU has decided to order subscriptions to the following CPUSA publications for the year 1962:

1. They will order 3,000 subscriptions to "The Worker";

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the [illegible] the property of the [illegible] is loaned to your agency [illegible] and its contents are not to be distributed outside [illegible]

~~[illegible]~~

154-91-2623

Searched
Serialized
Indexed
Filed

[redacted]

Re: Subscriptions to Communist Party, United States of America (CPUSA) Publications by International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CCCPSU)

2. They will order 500 subscriptions to "Political Affairs";

3. They will order 100 subscriptions to "Freedomways";

4. They will order 100 to 500 subscriptions to "People's World".

"The Worker"

"The Worker" is an East Coast Communist weekly newspaper.

"Political Affairs"

In "The Worker", issue of March 5, 1961, the editor of "Political Affairs" identified the latter publication as an organ of the National Committee of the CPUSA, published monthly.

"Freedomways" - published by Freedomways Associates, Incorporated

The records of the Secretary of State, New York State Department of State, Albany, New York, reflect that the certificate of incorporation of Freedomways Associates, Incorporated, was filed on March 2, 1961.

- 2 -

[redacted]

Re: Subscriptions to Communist Party, United States of America (CPUSA) Publications by International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CCCPSU)

The first issue of "Freedomways," Spring, 1961, is self-described as a quarterly review of the Negro freedom movement published by Freedomways Associates, Incorporated, 799 Broadway, New York City.

On May 23, 1961, a confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that "Freedomways" was set up by James Jackson, a member of the National Committee, CPUSA, for the Communist Party of the United States with the approval of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

On May 24, 1961, another confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that a report was given on "Freedomways" at a meeting of the National Board, CPUSA, held on May 20, 1961. It was stated that the original plan called for the publication to be openly Marxist, but that it was later decided it would not be advisable a Marxist publication. Editorials are in the hands of a mixed group of Marxists and non-Marxists. It was stated that the central purpose of "Freedomways" is to develop a theory and positive criticism of currents in the Negro movement, as well as to raise the level of understanding and discussion taking place in Negro life today and to project a socialist and pro-Soviet orientation.

"Peoples' World"

"Peoples' World" is a West Coast Communist weekly newspaper.

7/19/61

AIRTEL REGISTERED

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

Enclosed herewith are seven copies of a letterhead memorandum, for the Bureau, entitled, "Subscriptions to Communist Party, United States of America (CPUSA) Publications By International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CCCPSU)."

The source of the information is NY 694-S*, who furnished this information to SAS ALEXANDER C. DURLINSON and GEORGE EDWIN JONES on 7/17/61.

The sources used in characterization of Freedomways Associates, Inc., are: NY 694-S* and NY 2359-S*.

It is noted that in connection with possible Bureau dissemination, the information contained in the letterhead memorandum concerning the conversation is only known to three individuals and the letterhead memorandum is being submitted on the theory that the Bureau might find it necessary to make limited dissemination of this information.

3 - BUREAU (100-428091)(Encl. 7)(RM)
1 - CHICAGO (134-46-Sub B)(Encl. 1)(RM)
1 - NY 134-91 (Inv)(41)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

ACB:GEJ:mfd (#41)
(7)

134-91-2624

AIRTEL TO BUREAU
NY 100-134637

Information contained in the letterhead memorandum is classified "~~Top Secret~~" because, by its nature, it tends to disclose NY 694-S* as the source thereof. This informant provides extremely high-level intelligence information, and continued acquisition of this information is vital to the national defense interests of this country.

To give added security to this New York informant, the letterhead memorandum is being given a Washington, D.C. dateline as was suggested by the Bureau in their letter of 11/2/60, captioned as above, with respect to information furnished by CG 5824-S*.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 08-11-2011

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Washington, D.C.
July 19, 1961

100-420391

Re: Information Concerning Recent Visit of Soviet Journalists to the United States

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished the following information in July, 1961:

According to Aleksei Andreevich Grechukhin, who is the Assistant to Nikolai Vladimirovich Mostovets, head of North and South American Section of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CCCPSU), he was a member of the Delegation of Soviet Journalists that toured the United States recently. Grechukhin advised of the highlights of the Delegation's talk and interview with President John F. Kennedy at the White House in Washington, D.C. Grechukhin said that the interview granted to them by President Kennedy was for fifteen minutes, and that they were disappointed that it was such a short time. They wanted to have more time to ask questions and have serious political talks with President Kennedy.

When the Delegation entered the White House they were escorted into the Theodore Roosevelt Room and President Kennedy met them there. President Kennedy spoke about Theodore Roosevelt and explained the pictures on the wall and of various items of interest concerning Theodore Roosevelt. Grechukhin stated that the Delegation was most impatient because President Kennedy was doing all the talking and the Delegation wanted to ask President Kennedy questions previously decided upon. When their time was almost over, they were finally able to ask President Kennedy one question - "Why, Mr. President, do not your newspapers print true accounts and stories that are sent to them by our newspapers?" President Kennedy answered, "In our country we have freedom of the press and the newspapers print what they want."

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~TOP SECRET~~

134-PT-2625

re: Information Concerning Recent
Visit of Soviet Journalists
to the United States

According to Grechukhin, the Soviet journalists thought that President Kennedy was a very clever man in that he spent considerable time explaining about Theodore Roosevelt and very cleverly evaded being asked any questions by these journalists.

7/19/61

PLAIN

AIRTEL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are seven copies of a letterhead memorandum entitled "Information Concerning Recent Visit of Soviet Journalists to the United States".

The source of the information is NY 694-S*, who furnished this information to SAS ALEXANDER C. EURLINSON and GEORGE EDWIN JONES on 7/17/61.

The information contained in the letterhead was furnished directly to informant by ALEKSEI ANDREEVICH GRECHUKHIN during informant's stay in Moscow, USSR, during period 6/21-7/12/61.

It is noted that in connection with possible Bureau dissemination, the information contained in the letterhead memorandum concerning the conversation is known only to two individuals and the letterhead memorandum is being submitted on the theory that the Bureau might find it necessary to make limited dissemination of this information.

Information contained in the letterhead memorandum is classified ~~"Top Secret"~~ because by its nature it tends to disclose NY 694-S* as the source thereof. This informant provides extremely high-level intelligence information and continued acquisition of this information is vital to the national defense interests of this country.

To give added security to this New York informant, the letterhead memorandum is being given a Washington, D.C. dateline as was suggested by the Bureau in their letter of 11/2/60, captioned as above, with respect to information furnished by CG 5824-S*.

134-91-2626

3 - Bureau (100-428091) (Encl. 7) (RM)
1 - Chicago (134-46 Sub B) (Encl. 1) (RM)
1 - New York (134-91) (INV.) (41)
1 - New York (100-134637) (41)
GEJ:mc
(7)

1 - Supv. #41

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 08-11-2011

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.
100-[illegible]091

Washington, D.C.
July 19, 1961

Re: Soviet Reply to Communist Party, United States of America, Protest Concerning Alleged Criticism of Communist Party, United States of America, by ~~Anastas Mikoyan, Member of the Presidium of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union~~ Nikolai Mostovets

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished the following information in July, 1961:

With regard to a protest submitted by the Communist Party, United States of America (CPUSA) to the effect that the CPUSA, particularly Gus Hall, CPUSA General Secretary, resented criticism of the CPUSA by ~~Anastas Mikoyan, Member of the Presidium of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU)~~ Nikolai Mostovets, regarding the manner in which the CPUSA handled its internal affairs, Dimitri Shevlyagin, Deputy of Boris Ponomarev, Head of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CCCPSU), commented as follows:

> This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~SECRET~~

134-91-2627

Searched
Serialized
Indexed
Filed

~~SECRET~~

Re: Soviet Reply to Communist Party, United States of America, Protest Concerning Alleged Criticism of Communist Party, United States of America, by Anastas Mikoyan, Member of the Presidium of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

For the past three years, the relationship between the CPSU and the CPUSA has been excellent and has been beneficial to both Parties. Many representatives of the CPUSA have visited the Soviet Union in the past year, but at no time have they been told what to do or how to do it. In discussions with CPUSA representatives, CPSU officials occasionally have offered advice, but never have issued instructions as such to CPUSA representatives.

The CCCPSU is particularly proud of the CPUSA delegation that attended the 22 Party Congress in Moscow in November, 1960. It was a remarkable delegation, effective and most helpful. This delegation acted independently and at no time was told what to do. The CCCPSU has great admiration and love for Gus Hall, whom it knows well, and with whom another of the leading CPUSA functionary, the CCCPSU is familiar.

The CCCPSU considers Gus Hall as important in the international Communist movement as it does Palmiro Togliatti and Maurice Thorez, leaders of the Italian and French Communist Parties, respectively.

Dorothy Healey, who reported to the CPUSA the alleged criticism of the CPUSA by a Soviet official, also had talked, while in Moscow, with William Z. Foster. The CCCPSU has no knowledge of the nature of the discussions between Foster and

~~SECRET~~

Re: Soviet Reply to Communist Party, United States of America, Protest Concerning Alleged Criticism of Communist Party, United States of America, by Anastas Mikoyan, Member of the Presidium of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

Healey. Foster is a very sick man, and at times is not responsible for what he says and does.

The source mentioned above identified Dorothy Healey as Chairman of the Southern California District of the CPUSA.

The same source identified William Z. Foster as Chairman Emeritus of the CPUSA.

7/19/61

AIRTEL REGISTERED

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-420091)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SCLO
IS-C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 7 copies of a letterhead memorandum reflecting the Soviet reply to a CPUSA protest concerning alleged criticism of the CPUSA by ~~ANASTAS MIKOYAN~~ MIKOYAN, ~~member of the Presidium of the CP of the Soviet Union (CPSU)~~. Said reply reflected that the CPSU had no intentions of interfering in the internal affairs of the CPUSA.

The source of the above letterhead memorandum is NY 694-S*, who furnished this information to SAS ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON and GEORGE EDWIN JONES on 7/17/61.

Information furnished by the informant, but not included in the letterhead memorandum, is as follows:

On or about 7/4/61, NY 694-S* received a letter from CG 5024-S* reflecting that DOROTHY HEALEY, Chairman of the Southern California District of the CPUSA, had returned

3 - BUREAU (100-420091) (Encl. 7) (RM)
1 - CHICAGO (134-46-Sub B) (Encl. 1) (RM)
1 - NY 134-91 (Inv) (41)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

ACB:CSJ:mfd (#41)
(7)

134-91-2628

from the Soviet Union, and in a report concerning her contacts in Moscow, advised GUS HALL, CPUSA General Secretary, that ANASTAS MIKOYAN (NIKOLAI MOSTOVETS) had been critical of the CPUSA and of HALL. The letter from CG 5824-S* further reflected that HALL was extremely angry upon receipt of this information and stated that he would file a protest with Moscow telling the Soviets to mind their own business, and threatening to sever ~~their~~ relations with them.

The letter from CG 5824-S* further reflected that NY 694-S*, while in Moscow, should make known to the Soviets the reaction of GUS HALL with respect to the criticism by MIKOYAN (MOSTOVETS) of the CPUSA and of HALL.

On 7/5/61, NY 694-S* contacted ALEKSEI GRECHUKHIN, Assistant to NIKOLAI VLADIMIROVICH MOSTOVETS, Head of the North and South American Section of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CCCPSU), GRECHUKHIN also being in charge of the U.S. Section of the International Department of the CCCPSU.

NY 694-S* informed GRECHUKHIN of the contents of the letter which he received from CG 5824-S*, emphasizing the fact that GUS HALL was extremely angry as a result of the report he had received from DOROTHY HEALEY. He stated that GUS HALL is not adverse to criticism from his own National Committee, but that he is unwilling to be criticized or to be advised by individuals outside the American Party.

GRECHUKHIN, who, according to the informant, is usually "a good natured and jolly fellow," became enraged upon listening to what NY 694-S* had to say regarding this matter and "stormed off in a huff." He did not even bid the informant goodbye.

Two days later, NY 694-S* received a telephone call from GRECHUKHIN stating that NY 694-S* was to accompany GRECHUKHIN to the Headquarters of the CCCPSU at 10:00 a.m. sharp on the same day. The informant was driven by automobile to the Headquarters of the CCCPSU, where he was met by GRECHUKHIN, who escorted him to the office of DMITRI SHEVLYAGIN, Deputy to BORIS PONOMAREV. SHEVLYAGIN was acting Head of the International Department of the CCCPSU on that date, owing to the absence of PONOMAREV, who was out of town.

The matter reported in the letterhead memorandum was only one of several other matters discussed with SHEVLYAGIN on that date.

Information contained in the letterhead memorandum is classified "~~Top Secret~~" because, by its nature, it tends to disclose NY 694-S* as the source thereof. This informant provides extremely high-level intelligence information, and continued acquisition of this information is vital to the national defense interests of this country.

To give added security to this New York informant, the letterhead memorandum is being given a Washington, D.C. dateline as was suggested by the Bureau in their letter of 11/2/60, captioned as above, with respect to information furnished by CG 5824-S*.

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DATE 08-11-2011

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

105-420391

Washington, D.C.
July 20, 1961

To: Martinis Verduga

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished the following information in July, 1961:

According to Nikolai Vladimirovich Kasteyets, Head of the North and South American Section of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CCSPCU), the Communist Party, United States of America (CPUSA), should consider contacting one Martinis Verduga in Mexico City, Mexico, if they need a reliable contact in that area.

This document is prepared in response to your request and is neither recommendations of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

134-91-2629

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Serialized
Indexed
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7/20/61

AIRTEL REGISTERED

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 7 copies of a letterhead memorandum entitled, "Martinis Verduga".

The source of the information is NY 694-S*, who furnished this information to SAS ALEXANDER C. EURLINSON and GEORGE EDWIN JONES on 7/18/61.

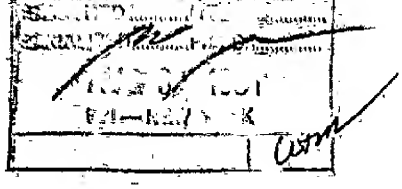
It is noted that in connection with possible Bureau dissemination, information contained in the letterhead memorandum was furnished directly to informant by NIKOLAI KOSTOVETS and the letterhead memorandum was submitted on the theory that the Bureau may find it necessary to make limited dissemination of this information.

Information contained in the letterhead memorandum is classified "~~Top Secret~~" because, by its nature, it tends to disclose NY 694-S* as the source thereof. This informant provides extremely high-level intelligence information, and continued acquisition of this information is vital to the national defense interests of this country.

3 - Bureau (100-428091)(Encl. 7)(RM)
1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub D)(Encl. 1)(RM)
1 - NY 134-91 (Inv)(41)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

ACB:GEJ:mfd (#41)
(7)

134-91-2630



AIRTEL TO BUREAU
NY 100-134637

To give added security to this New York informant, the letterhead memorandum is being given a Washington, D.C. dateline as was suggested by the Bureau in their letter of 11/2/60, captioned as above, with respect to information furnished by CG 5824-S*.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 08-11-2011

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.
100-423001

Washington, D.C.
July 20, 1961

Re: Endorsement of Gus Hall's Political Thinking By the Presidium of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished the following information in July, 1961:

Timur Timofeevich Timofeev, older son of the late Eugene Dennis, former Chairman of the Communist Party, United States of America (CPUSA), was a member of Premier Nikita Khrushchev's entourage when the latter attended the United Nations General Assembly in September, 1960. He is Head of the Economic Department of the Institute of World Economy and International Relations, an important branch of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CCCPSU), the said International Department being under the direct control of Boris Ponomarev, and under the over-all control of Mikhail Suslov, member of the Presidium of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU).

Timofeev has a very close personal relationship with Premier Nikita Khrushchev, with Anastas I. Mikoyan, Deputy Premier and member of the Presidium, and also with the latter's son. Timofeev also has close personal friends who hold important positions in the Political and Economic Departments of the CCCPSU. Among such persons are the Political Secretary of Premier Khrushchev, and one "Leonid", who is engaged in "Secret Service work" for the CCCPSU.

134-91-2631

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Serialized
Indexed
Filed

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

re: Endorsement of Gus Hall's Political Thinking by the Presidium of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

When Titoffov returned to the Soviet Union after accompanying Khrushchev to the United States in September, 1960, where the latter had attended the United Nations General Assembly, Titoffov was instructed to prepare a report reflecting conversations he had had with CPUSA functionaries Gus Hall, Henry Winston, Jack Stachel, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and James Jackson, all members of the CPUSA National Committee, regarding the internal situation in the CPUSA, and the disruptive influence William Z. Foster, Chairman Emeritus of the CPUSA, had on the American Party.

Titoffov's report included information regarding matters in controversy within the CPUSA ten years ago. His report also reflected the role of Eugene Dennis in opposing the political line of William Z. Foster. The report also reflected what the political standing of Gus Hall had been and would be.

Titoffov did not submit this report "through channels", but submitted it directly to Anastas Mikoyan.

Three weeks after submitting the report to Mikoyan, Titoffov went to the latter and inquired whether the report had been discussed in the Presidium and if so, what the Presidium's reaction had been to the report. Titoffov made this inquiry despite the fact that he was well aware that discussions in the Presidium are secret.

Mikoyan, referring to this policy of the Presidium, said that ordinarily he would not talk about discussions held in the Presidium, but in view of Titoffov being the son of Eugene Dennis, he would tell the latter the following:

~~SECRET~~

Re: Endorsement of Gus Hall's Political Thinking By the Presidium of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

For three hours Khrushchev and the other members of the Presidium discussed Ilichev's report and after discussion, they unanimously endorsed the political line of Gus Hall as against that of William Z. Foster, which they condemned as "incorrect."

Mikoyan told Ilichev that Gus Hall could not be told directly about his endorsement by the Presidium. He stated that in order that Gus Hall might become aware of his endorsement by the Presidium, the following would be done:

Gus Hall would be quoted and publicized as much as possible in the Soviet press. Naturally, according to Mikoyan, when Hall should become aware that he is being so publicized in the Soviet Press, he will understand that he is being endorsed by the Presidium.

According to the source, during late June and early July, 1961, the Soviet publication "Pravda" quoted Gus Hall on four occasions.

~~SECRET~~

7/20/61

AIRTEL REGISTERED

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 7 copies of a letterhead memorandum reflecting that the political line of GUS HALL, General Secretary of the CPUSA, has been endorsed by the Presidium of the CP of the Soviet Union.

The source mentioned is NY 694-S*, who furnished this information to SAS ALEXANDER C. EURLINSON and GEORGE EDWIN JONES on 7/17/61.

Information contained in the letterhead memorandum is classified "~~Top Secret~~" because, by its nature, it tends to disclose NY 694-S* as the source thereof. This informant provides extremely high-level intelligence information, and continued acquisition of this information is vital to the national defense interests of this country.

To give added security to this New York informant, the letterhead memorandum is being given a Washington, D.C. dateline as was suggested by the Bureau in their letter of 11/2/60, captioned as above, with respect to information furnished by CG 5624-S*.

3 - BUREAU (100-428091)(Encl. 7)(RM)
1 - CHICAGO (134-46-Sub B)(Encl. 1)(RM)
1 - NY 134-91 (Inv)(41)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

ACB:GEJ:mfd (641)
(7)

134-91-2632

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FBI—NEW YORK

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 08-11-2011

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-[illegible]

Washington, D.C.
July 23, 1951

Re: Information Concerning 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU)

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished the following information in July, 1951:

According to Vasily Kovshenko, a leading member of Komsomol, a youth organization of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), and also currently the organizer of a World Youth Forum being held in Moscow on July 25, 1951, the draft program of the 22nd Congress of the CPSU will be completed by the end of July, 1951. This draft program will be submitted to the members of the Central Committee of the CPSU and discussions will be held on this draft program for a period of two months.

According to Kovshenko, as a rule the following procedure is not followed, but in this instance, the draft program of the 22nd Congress will be translated and printed in English to be sent to English speaking countries including the United States for the knowledge and information of the Communist Party, United States of America.

This [illegible] neither [illegible] conclusions [illegible] Party [illegible] to [illegible] and [illegible] are not to be disseminated outside [illegible].

134-91-2633

Searched
Serialized
Indexed
Filed

7/20/61

AIRTEL REGISTERED

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 7 copies of a letterhead memorandum entitled, "Information Concerning 22nd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU)."

The source of the information is NY 694-S*, who furnished this information to SAS ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON and GEORGE EDWIN JONES on 7/18/61.

It is noted that in connection with possible Bureau dissemination, information contained in the letterhead memorandum was furnished directly to informant by VASILY SHEVCHENKO and the letterhead memorandum was submitted on the theory that the Bureau may find it necessary to make limited dissemination of this information.

3 - BUREAU (100-428091)(Encl. 7)(RM)
1 - CHICAGO (134-46-Sub B)(Encl. 1)(RM)
1 - NY 134-91 (Inv)(41)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

ACB:GEJ:mfd (#41)
(7)

134-91-2634

SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
AUG 3 - 1961
FBI — NEW YORK

AIRTEL TO BUREAU
NY 100-134637

Information contained in the letterhead memorandum is classified "~~Top Secret~~" because, by its nature, it tends to disclose NY 694-S* as the source thereof. This informant provides extremely high-level intelligence information, and continued acquisition of this information is vital to the national defense interests of this country.

To give added security to this New York informant, the letterhead memorandum is being given a Washington, D.C. dateline as was suggested by the Bureau in their letter of 11/2/60, captioned as above, with respect to information furnished by CG 5824-S*.

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DATE 08-11-2011

~~TOP SECRET~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply Please Refer to
File No 100-[redacted]

Washington, D.C.
July 25, 1961

Re: Factors That Helped
To Strengthen the Position
Of Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev
In the Soviet Union

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished the following information in July, 1961, concerning factors that helped to strengthen the position of Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev in the Soviet Union:

Source received this information from Sallie Perlman, a Soviet citizen and a member of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) for over thirty-five years. Perlman was a translator working for the Comintern in about 1932. While Perlman has not occupied any high position in the Soviet Union, she has always held trusted positions and has been in attendance at meetings, or in the company of persons who attended meetings, of the Central Committee of the CPSU (CCCPSU).

Further, by way of background, Perlman is the person who raised Timur Timofeyevich Timofeyev, who is presently employed in the International Department of the CCCPSU. Perlman has raised Timofeyev since infancy, when he was left in Moscow by Eugene Dennis, now deceased, former General Secretary of the Communist Party, United States of America, and his wife, Peggy Dennis.

Sallie Perlman advised that three factors that helped to strengthen the position of Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev in the Soviet Union are as follows:

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~TOP SECRET~~

134-91-2635
Searched
Serialized
Indexed
Filed

~~TOP SECRET~~

Re: Factors that Helped
To Strengthen the Position
of Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev
In the Soviet Union

1 That Khrushchev survived the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, despite the fact that he brought the information concerning the atrocities perpetrated by Stalin out in the open. This was a crucial period and Khrushchev came out stronger because of his disclosures.

2 In 1953-1954, there was a period of starvation in the Soviet Union. The only place that had food was Moscow and this was for the purpose of putting on a show for the world. Khrushchev was the only one in the entire leadership who had the courage to come out and speak about it and to call it to the attention of the people that there was not sufficient food.

3. The most important point is Khrushchev's desire for co-existence. At first, he had opposition concerning his policy of co-existence, mainly from Mikhail Suslov, member of the Presidium of the CPSU, who was described as a one hundred ten per cent Stalinist. In recent months, particularly since the Eighty-One Party Congress, Suslov has given himself over completely to Khrushchev's policy of co-existence and has become a staunch fighter for it.

- 2 -

~~TOP SECRET~~

7/20/61

AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are seven (7) copies of a letterhead memo entitled, "Factors That Helped To Strengthen the Position of Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev In the Soviet Union."

The source of the info is NY 694-S* who furnished this info to SAS ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON and GEORGE EDWIN JONES on 7/18/61.

It is noted that in connection with possible Bureau dissemination, the information contained in the letterhead memo concerning the conversation is only known to two individuals and the letterhead memo is being submitted on the theory that the Bureau might find it necessary to make limited dissemination of this information.

Info contained in the letterhead memo is classified "Top Secret" because, by its nature, it tends to disclose NY 694-S* as the source thereof. This informant provides extremely high-level intelligence info, and continued acquisition of this info is vital to the national defense interests of this country.

3 - Bureau (100-428091) (Enc. 7) (RM)
1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B) (Enc. 1) (RM)
1 - NY 134-91 (Inv.) (41)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

GEJ:gmg
(7)

134-91-2636

NY 100-134637

To give added security to this New York informant, the letterhead memo is being given a Washington, D.C. dateline as was suggested by the Bureau in their letter of 11/2/60, captioned as above, with respect to info furnished by CG 5824-S*.

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FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 08-11-2011

~~TOP SECRET~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply Please Refer to
File No 105-42890

Washington, D.C.
July 30, 1952

Re: Agricultural Problem
In Czechoslovakia

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished the following information in July, 1951:

According to Georg Zbytin, of the International Department of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party, who is in charge of "Capitalist Countries," the Czechoslovakian government has a very serious situation in agriculture. Czechoslovakia is encountering a most difficult problem in dealing with small farms, that is, the single-owner farms. This situation is holding back their agricultural production almost to a dangerous level. Zbytin stated that statistics will show that Czechoslovakian agricultural production has lagged over the previous year but he confided that this is not a true picture.

Zbytin remarked that the situation in Czechoslovakia is similar to that which took place in Poland and is still taking place where there are too many small farms owned by individual farmers who resist collectivism. One of the principal reasons for this is the nature of the Czechoslovakian farmer and his strong desire for owning his own plot of land.

This Document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~TOP SECRET~~

134-91-3637

Searched
Serialized
Indexed
Filed

7/20/51

AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: COLO
IS-C

Enclosed herewith for Bureau are seven (7) copies of a letterhead memo entitled, "Agricultural Problem in Czechoslovakia."

The source of the information is NY C94-C*, who furnished this information to SAS ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON and GEORGE EDWIN JONES on 7/18/51.

The information contained in the letterhead memo was furnished directly to the informant by GEORG ZDOTKA on informant's return trip through Prague, Czechoslovakia, during period 7/12/51-7/13/51.

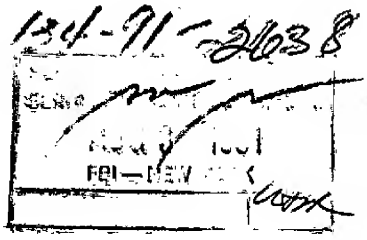
It is noted that in connection with possible Bureau dissemination, the information contained in the letterhead memo was furnished directly to the informant by ZDOTKA, and the letterhead memo was submitted on the theory that the Bureau may find it necessary to make limited dissemination of this information.

Information contained in the letterhead memo is classified "~~Top Secret~~" because, by its nature, it tends to

3 - Bureau (100-428091) (Enc. 7) (RM)
1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B) (Enc. 1) (RM)
1 - NY 134-91 (Inv.) (41)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

GEJ:GMG
(7)

134-91-2638



NY 100-134637

disclose NY 694-S* as the source thereof. This informant prides extremely high-level intelligence information, and continued acquisition of this information is vital to the national defense interests of this country.

To give added security to this New York informant, the letterhead memo is being given a Washington, D.C. dateline as was suggested by the Bureau in their letter of 11/2/50, captioned as above, with respect to information furnished by CG 5824-S*.

7/20/61

AIRTEL REGISTERED

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

ReNYairtel, 7/12/61, captioned, "WYNDHAM MORTIMER; SM-C", Bufile 100-5681.

On 7/18/61, NY 694-S* advised SAS ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON and GEORGE EDWIN JONES of the following information:

During informant's stay in Moscow, USSR, during period 6/21-7/12/61, he submitted a memorandum on behalf of the CPUSA to NIKOLAI VLADIMIROVICH MOSTOVETS, Head of the North and South American Section of the International Department of the Central Committee of the CP of the Soviet Union (CCCPSU), requesting that WYNDHAM MORTIMER be granted an invitation on behalf of the Soviets to visit the Soviet Union.

Subsequent to the submission of this memorandum, NIKOLAI MOSTOVETS advised informant that permission had been granted for WYNDHAM MORTIMER to come as a guest of the Soviet Union by the Soviet Union Institution of Trade Unions.

The Los Angeles Office will be advised of this information by separate communication.

3 - BUREAU (100-428091)(RM)
1 - CHICAGO (134-46-Sub B)(RM)
1 - NY 134-91 (Inv)(41)
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ACB:GEJ:mfd (#41)
(7)

134-91-2639

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FBI - NY
Burlinson ACB

7/20/61

AIRTEL REGISTERED

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

On 7/18/61, NY 694-S* furnished the following information to SAS ALEXANDER C. EURLINSON and GEORGE EDWIN JONES concerning information that he received from ELIZABETH HALL, wife of GUS HALL, General Secretary, CPUSA, regarding her meeting with NINA PETROVA KHRUSHCHEV, wife of Soviet Premier NIKITA S. KHRUSHCHEV:

This meeting took place at the KHRUSHCHEV residence located on the Moscow River and which, according to ELIZABETH HALL, is adjacent to the residence of ANASTAS I. MIKOYAN, member of the Presidium of the CP of the Soviet Union (CPSU).

According to ELIZABETH HALL, previous to her arrival at aforesaid residence, Premier KHRUSHCHEV called his wife saying that he was sorry that he would not be present to greet ELIZABETH HALL and to talk to her, that his wife should make sure to extend his best regards to GUS HALL and that he hopes that GUS HALL will come to Russia soon.

3 - BUREAU (100-428091)(RM)
1 - CHICAGO (134-46-Sub B)(RM)
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ACB:GEJ:mfd (#41)
(7)

134-91-2640

FBI—NY

NINA KHRUSHCHEV spoke concerning her visit to the United States and stated that she enjoyed her visit very much, but was sorry that she was unable to see the "working people." NINA KHRUSHCHEV recalled a pleasant occasion in the United States when the chambermaids at a hotel where she was staying presented her with a gift which represented many workers in the hotel.

NINA KHRUSHCHEV stated that she wished to ask a question that her husband wants to raise and that is if GUS HALL cannot come to the Soviet Union "legally" why doesn't he sneak over. ELIZABETH HALL stated that she answered this question by stating that the last time he (GUS HALL) tried to do so, he got 7 years, (apparently referring to GUS HALL's arrest in Mexico).

ELIZABETH HALL remarked that NINA KHRUSHCHEV was interested in talking to her about various women's organizations and various publications in the United States and wanted also to discuss politics. ELIZABETH HALL said that she stated that she was not well versed on these matters. ELIZABETH HALL observed that she thought that NINA KHRUSHCHEV appreciated this frank and honest answer.

According to ELIZABETH HALL, NINA KHRUSHCHEV stated that she noticed that President JOHN F. KENNEDY resents very much when referred to as a young person and specifically recalled an incident when President KENNEDY was referred to as a young person, in his presence, by a certain individual and on this occasion President KENNEDY showed his resentment.

ELIZABETH HALL stated that upon her departure from the KHRUSHCHEV residence, NINA KHRUSHCHEV accompanied her back to her quarters in Moscow in the chauffeured car and upon arrival

at her destination, NINA KHRUSHCHEV jumped out of the car and opened the car door for her (ELIZABETH HALL).

In reference to the residence of the KHRUSHCHEVS, ELIZABETH HALL stated that it was not a mansion, further, that NINA KHRUSHCHEV described it as a house that was too small for them.

Because of the nature of the information set forth above, no letterhead memorandum is being submitted.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 08-11-2011

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

Washington, D. C.
July 20, 1961

100-423091

Re: Failure of Chinese Communes

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished the following information in July, 1961:

According to Itzak Mintz, a noted Soviet academician and historian, the Chinese communes are a failure, but the Chinese will not admit it. Mintz further stated that the Chinese are gradually converting great communes into cooperatives, but are doing this carefully and gradually. This situation is taking place, according to Mintz, because of great famine conditions in China at the present time.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~SECRET~~

134-91-2641

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Indexed
Filed

7/20/61

AIRTEL REGISTERED

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

Enclosed herewith are seven copies of a letterhead memorandum entitled "Failure of Chinese Communes." The source of the information is NY 694-S*, who furnished this information to SAS ALEXANDER C. EURLINSON and GEORGE EDWIN JONES on 7/17/61.

The information contained in the letterhead was furnished directly to informant by ITZAK MINTZ during informant's stay in Moscow, USSR, during the period 6/21-7/12/61.

By way of background information, NY 694-S* advised that ITZAK MINTZ is an elderly man, who is a noted academician and historian. He was most friendly to NY 694-S* when informant was in the USSR in the 1930's, and this was the first contact that informant has had with MINTZ in approximately 28 years. Informant advised that he tried to see MINTZ on his previous visit to Russia (SOLO trip, February 1960), but was unable to do so. Informant advised that MINTZ was most cordial and emotional when he first met informant during this visit.

It is noted that in connection with possible Bureau

3 - BUREAU (100-428091)(Encl. 7)(RM)
1 - CHICAGO (134-46-Sub B)(Encl. 1)(RM)
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1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

GEJ:mab (41)
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1 - SUP. 41

134-91-2642

SEARCHED ..... INDEXED .....
SERIALIZED ..... FILED .....
JUL 20 1961
FBI — NEW YORK

dissemination, the information contained in the letterhead memorandum concerning the conversation is known only to the two individuals involved, and the letterhead memorandum is being submitted on the theory that the Bureau might find it necessary to make limited dissemination of this information.

Information contained in the letterhead memorandum is classified "~~Top Secret~~" because, by its very nature, it would disclose NY 694-S* as the source thereof. This informant provides extremely high-level intelligence information and continued acquisition of this information is vital to the national defense interests of this country.

To give added security to this New York informant, the letterhead memorandum is being given a Washington, D. C., dateline, as was suggested by the Bureau in their letter of 11/2/60, captioned as above, with respect to information furnished by CG 5824-S*.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 08-11-2011

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply Please Refer to File No.

Washington, D. C.
July 20, 1961

100-[illegible]

Re: Report of XIV Congress of the Communist Party of Israel, May 31 - June 3, 1961; Excerpts From Speech of Shmuel Mikunis Habibi

A source who has furnished reliable information in the past, in July, 1961, furnished excerpts from a speech of Shmuel Mikunis Habibi, a member of the Politburo of the Communist Party of Israel (CPI), delivered at the XIV Congress of the CPI held at Tel Aviv, May 31 - June 3, 1961. These excerpts were made available through the efforts of Georg Zdotka of the International Department of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party, who is in charge of capitalist countries.

The excerpts included the following:

We live in an age when the world socialist system more and more becomes the decisive factor in every social development. This fact is a turning point in human history. It influences the development of every country and inspires millions of people to embrace each social previous conception. There was a time when the policy of the Middle East believed that they could safeguard their future by reaching an understanding or leaning upon the imperialist powers. There was a time when the Jewish and Arab leaders of this country competed amongst themselves in their service to the imperialist in order to safeguard their positions. Those days can never never be returned again.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

[redacted]

134-91-2643

Searched
Serialized
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Re: Report of XIV Congress of the
Communist Party of Israel,
May 31 - June 3, 1961; Excerpts
from Speech of Comrade Emile Habibi

Ben-Gurion is now knocking on the door of the leaders of the imperialist powers in order to secure for himself a dignified position in the framework of their aggressive plans. The question is raised, however, how many people still believe that the imperialists have the power to carry out their plans in the Middle East. Did not Ben-Gurion secure himself a dignified position by the triple aggression in 1956 against Egypt? The result is well known. In 1957, when we held our XIII Congress, could the rulers of our country still delude the people by saying that the triple aggression had collapsed because of President Eisenhower's resolutions? Now, in the President Kennedy who has come to power, all the adherents of the 'free world' in our country believed that the young President would rejuvinate imperialism. Indeed, President Kennedy has acted singlehandedly. What was the result? The invasion of Cuba, organized by American imperialism, did not hold out more than 72 hours.

Let the rulers of our country look for new excuses to explain the failure of their policy which stands in contradiction to the active development of our times. Let the Kennedys try to stop the peoples from reaching correct conclusions. Let them put the blame on the head of the Central Intelligence Agency or the Secretary of Defense. Let them learn guerilla warfare from Fidel Castro's writings. But all this will save neither them nor their rotten regimes from the sentence of history. When the conditions are right for the breaking up of the old rotten regime and for the victorious emergence of the new, rising regime, there is no wisdom sufficiently powerful to prevent the abolition of the old regime. The laws of history are stronger than the laws of artillery. Such are exactly the times in which we live.

Re: Report at XIV Congress of the Communist Party of Israel, May 31 - June 3, 1964; Excerpts from Speech of Comrade Emile Habibi

Is it possible that independent human beings can close their eyes to the existence of socialism and its leading role in the entire historic development? In our country, as well as in all the capitalist countries, a process of re-appraisal of old views is taking place. The intensification of the anti-Soviet and anti-Communist incitement in our country does not point to the non-existence of this process but to the fears of the leaders of our country. The anti-Soviet and anti-Communist campaign is a reactive thermometer showing the degree of high temperature set by the reactionary rulers and by those circles whose entire political existence is based on the premise that capitalism is eternal. The more these rulers feel the approach of their end, the more they intensify the incitement against the Soviet Union and against communism. Thus they march towards the same inevitable end of all reactionaries in history, as all those who tried by means of terror, incitement and cruel oppression to prevent the people from seeing the new facts.

We fight this anti-Soviet and anti-Communist campaign because it is the blackest of all black curtains preventing the people of our country from seeing the wide horizons opening before the eyes of mankind on its march towards peace, scientific development and social progress. We fight this incitement because we want our people to march together with all mankind toward the happiest historical epoch. Communism in our times is the inheritor and fulfillment of all the loftiest ideals of humanity. All the lights in the world will not be able to illuminate the dark future awaiting the colonialist system, capitalism and its Zion-Quisling agents in our country.

- 3 -

Re: Report of XIV Congress of the
Communist Party of Israel,
May 31 - June 3, 1961; Excerpts
From Speech of Comrade Emile Habibi

The international unity of our Party has been fortified. Its fibre has been strengthened under the fire of struggle for the future of Israel itself and for the sake of peace, a struggle which our Party has waged against the triple, treacherous attack on Egypt. The struggle of our Jewish comrades, who, in many instances, have stood alone in an atmosphere filled with chauvinism and anti-Arab incitement against the reaction of Ben-Gurion aggressiveness, against the bloodshedding on the borders, against the bankrupt Sinai campaign, against the plunder of the lands and against every act of national oppression. Their fight was for an Arab-Jewish peace arrangement, for the solution to the Palestinian question on the basis of mutual respect for the just national rights of the Arabs and the Jews. They and they alone proclaimed the right of self-determination of the Palestinian-Arabs and the right of the Palestinian refugees to return to their homeland. This struggle has not only strengthened and fortified the international unity of our Arab-Jewish Party, it has also cast aside the obstacles obstructing the road to peace between the Arab peoples and Israel in the march towards the unity and brotherhood of the peoples of our region. This is a great patriotic service which our Party renders the Israeli people, its future and its welfare. We have repulsed, and will continue to repulse, all attacks on the international unity of our Party.

At a time when the "disreputable affair" revealed its ugly role and it has been exposed how it was staged by Ben-Gurion's "Forces of Darkness," let us remember the concentrated attack which these "Forces of Darkness" launched against the international unity of our Party in February, 1956. No show of reconciliation can absolve the Ben-Gurion junta from its responsibility for the murder of men, women and children.

re: Report of XIV Congress of the
Communist Party of Israel,
May 31 - June 3, 1964; Excerpts
From Speech of Comrade Emile Habibi

They organized all the Zionist newspapers into stirring up excitement against the Arab Communists by accusing them of organizing armed rebellion. In February, 1965, these newspapers competed in carrying out the provocative plans against our Communist Party, against the Arab Communists and against all fighters for the just rights of their people. We cannot forget the demagogic and leading role played by "Al Hamishmar" of Mapai in stirring up excitement against us.

The plans of Ben-Gurion's "forces of Darkness" failed. The international unity of our Party repulsed the attack and was only strengthened by it. Our Party does not retreat in the principle struggle for the solution of the Israeli-Arab dispute, on the basis of the right to self-determination and the mutual respect of the just national rights of the two peoples. Wider circles begin to realize that there is no solution to this dispute other than the solution offered by our Communist Party.

7/20/61

AIRTEL REGISTERED

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-423091)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

Enclosed herewith are seven copies of a letterhead memorandum, entitled "Report of XIV Congress of the Communist Party of Israel, May 31 - June 3, 1961; Excerpts from Speech of Comrade Emile Habibi." The source of the information is NY 694-S*, who furnished this information to SAS ALEXANDER C. EURLINSON and GEORGE EDWIN JONES on 7/17/61.

The report regarding the Communist Party of Israel Congress was personally given to informant by GEORG ZOLOTKA, of the International Department of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party, who is in charge of "capitalist countries." Informant received the report from ZOLOTKA during the period 7/12-13/61, while informant was in Prague, Czechoslovakia.

It is noted that in connection with possible Bureau dissemination, the information contained in the letterhead memorandum was furnished directly to the informant by ZOLOTKA and the letterhead memorandum was submitted on the theory that the Bureau may find it necessary to make limited dissemination of this information.

3 - BUREAU (100-423091) (Encl. 7) (RM)
1 - CHICAGO (134-46-Sub B) (Encl. 1) (RM)
1 - NY 134-91 (INV) (41)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

GEJ:msb (41)
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1 - SUP. 41

134-91-2644

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JUL 20 1961
FBI - NEW YORK

Information contained in the letterhead memorandum is classified "~~Top Secret~~" because, by its very nature, it would disclose NY 694-S* as the source thereof. This informant provides extremely high-level intelligence information and continued acquisition of this information is vital to the national defense interests of this country.

To give added security to this New York informant, the letterhead memorandum is being given a Washington, D. C., dateline, as was suggested by the Bureau in their letter of 11/2/60, captioned as above, with respect to information furnished by CG 5824-S*.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 08-11-2011

~~TOP SECRET~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-426091

Washington, D.C.
July 30, 1951

Re: Information Concerning the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU)

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished the following information in July, 1951:

According to Pearl Wedro, who is attached to the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) in Prague, Czechoslovakia, and who is the representative of North America, the West Indies, Jamaica and British Guiana, the Secretariat of the WFTU is most interested in having delegates from the United States trade unions attend the Fifth World Trade Union Congress in Moscow, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, which is to be held December 4 through 16, 1951.

According to Wedro, her office can be referred to as a "paper office" in the WFTU because all of the trade unions in the countries which she represents are affiliated with the International Federation of Free Trade Unions, which is the opposite of the WFTU. The reason for the "paper office" is because she works partially illegally. She cannot write officially to any trade union in the United States, Canada or other areas which she represents. If she writes letters to trade unions or individuals in these areas, the letters are mailed from London and not from Prague, in order to hide the identity of the WFTU. Her principal function is to give a picture at all times of the trade union movement and activities in the countries which she represents to the Secretariat.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

134-91-2645

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~~TOP SECRET~~

Re: Information Concerning the
World Federation of
Trade Unions (WFTU)

Wedro stated that since the recent creation of the many new African countries, there are many new "paper offices" existing in the WFTU. This has been done because of the fact that the Africans have decided to act independently and form all trade union federations within Africa itself.

According to Wedro, the Secretariat of the WFTU is as follows:

Louis Saillant - France
Luigi Grassi - Italy
Proti Nimenov - Russia
Elena Teodorescu - Italy
Marcel Bras - France
Lugiri - Italy
Ibrahim Sakarin - Africa
Mr. CHUN Yen - China

7/20/61

AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are seven (7) copies of a letterhead memo entitled, "Information Concerning the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU)."

The source of the info is NY 694-S*, who furnished this info to SAS ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON and GEORGE EDWIN JONES on 7/18/61.

Info furnished by PEARL WEDRO which is not included in the letterhead memo is as follows:

WEDRO is negotiating with the United Automobile Workers (UAW) Local No. 3 in Cleveland, Ohio, to send delegates to the Fifth World Trade Union Congress is Moscow, U.S.S.R. (12/4-16/61). One person corresponding with her in this matter is one LEO FENSTER. WEDRO also has received correspondence regarding this Congress from ELMER KISTLER, 4035 39th St. (Ave. S), Seattle, Washington, and this correspondence has been going back and forth via London.

WEDRO advised that her address is as follows:

"Atlantic Hotel, Na Poricci 9, Prague 2, Czechoslovakia."

3 - Bureau (100-428091) (Enc. 7) (RM)
1-- Chicago (134-46-Sub B) (Enc 1) (RM)
1 - NY 134-91 (Inv.) (41)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

GEJ:gmg
(7)

134-91-2696

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It is to be noted that in connection with possible Bureau dissemination, the info contained in the letterhead memo concerning the conversation is only known to two individuals and the letterhead memo is being submitted on the theory that the Bureau might find it necessary to make limited dissemination of this info.

Info contained in the letterhead memo is classified "~~Top Secret~~" because, by its nature, it tends to disclose NY 6824-S* as the source thereof. This informant provides extremely high-level intelligence info, and continued acquisition of this info is vital to the national defense interests of this country.

To give added security to this New York informant, the letterhead memo is being given a Washington, D.C. dateline as was suggested by the Bureau in their letter of 11/2/50, captioned as above, with respect to info furnished by CG 5824-S*.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 08-11-2011

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. 100-139637

Washington, D.C.
July 21, 1961

Re: Document Critical of Communist Party, United States of Soviet Leaders, Written by William Z. Foster, And Submitted to Nikhail Suslov And Otto Kuusinen, Members of the Presidium of the Communist Party, of The Soviet Union

A confidential source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished the following information in July, 1961:

According to Nikolai Kostyevev, head of the fifth and fourth American Section of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CCCPSU), when William Z. Foster, Chairman Emeritus of the Communist Party, United States of America (CP,USA), first arrived in the Soviet Union, he submitted to Mikhail Suslov and Otto Kuusinen, members of the Presidium of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), a lengthy document reflecting his political thinking and his disagreements with the political thinking of CP,USA leaders.

After the document had been translated into Russian, Suslov and Kuusinen studied and discussed it. They then went to Foster and advised him that they rejected the document in its entirety and that they declined to discuss it further with him.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

134-91-2697

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FOR SECRET

8/21/61

AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS - C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 7 copies of a letterhead memo reflecting that upon his arrival in the Soviet Union, WILLIAM Z. FOSTER submitted to MIKHAIL SUSLOV and OTTO KUUSINEN, members of the Presidium of the CPSU, a document reflecting his disagreement with the political thinking of CP,USA leaders, and that SUSLOV and KUUSINEN rejected the said document in its entirety.

The source of the info is NY 694-S*, who furnished this info to SAS GEORGE EDWIN JONES and ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON on 7/18/61.

Info contained in the letterhead memo is classified ~~"Top Secret"~~ because, by its nature, it tends to disclose NY 694-S* as the source thereof. This informant provides extremely high-level intelligence info, and continued acquisition of this info is vital to the national defense interests of this country.

To give added security to this New York informant the letterhead memo is being given a Washington, D.C. dateline as was suggested by the Bureau in their letter of 11/2/60, captioned as above, with respect to info furnished by CG 5824-S*.

3 - Bureau (100-428091) (RM) (Enc. 7)
1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B) (RM)(Enc. 1)
1 - NY 134-91 (Inv.) (41)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

ACB:gmg
(7)

134-91-2648

SERIALIZED FILED
AUG 3 1961
FBI—NEW YORK

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7/21/61

AIRTEL REGISTERED

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

ReNYtel, dated 7/14/61, captioned as above, furnishing information concerning an eight-day "Secret Service School" attended in Moscow by NY 694-S*. Said teletype reflected that one "PYOTR LNU", who was in charge of Soviet agents in the United States, stayed with the informant throughout the latter's training period and acted as his interpreter.

Reference is also made to New York airtel, dated 7/18/61, captioned as above, which advised that "PYOTR LNU" also is known as "PAUL," "PETER," and "PETROV."

On 7/18/61, NY 694-S* furnished to SAS GEORGE EDWIN JONES and ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON further information concerning the above-mentioned Secret Service School. Inasmuch as the information concerning this matter is highly technical in nature, the informant is being quoted. His report is as follows:

3 - BUREAU (100-428091)(RM)
1 - CHICAGO (134-46-Sub B)(RM)
1 - NY 134-91 (INV)(41)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

ACB:mab (41)
(7)

1 - SUP. 41

134-91-3649

SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
JUL 20 1961
FBI — NEW YORK

"On the second day after my arrival in Moscow, I had my first formal meeting with NIKOLAI MOSTOVETS and ALEXEI GRECHUKHIN. We discussed reports which I was to submit regarding matters relating to the CPUSA; that is, meetings held by the CPUSA, GUS HALL's report, the Supreme Court decision, etc. It was agreed that I should submit memoranda with regard to these matters.

"In that connection, I asked them whether I was to include in my report the matter concerning Africa and "the comrade" who is there (Valentine Gregory Burtan). NIKOLAI indicated that I was to submit a report on Africa, but that it would be a separate report. He told me that on the following day, I should meet with a comrade who would assist me with respect to the report on Africa. He indicated that the matter of Africa was not of special interest to his department, but was of interest to another department. I told him that I had brought with me excerpts from the letters of the comrade in Africa and that I would give a report on BURTAN which had been furnished to me by IRVING POTASH. This report would include BURTAN's reason for going to Africa, and what he expects to accomplish while there.

"I explained to NIKOLAI and ALEXEI that my time was limited and that, if possible, I should like to return to the United States within ten days. They expressed regret at my not being able to stay longer in their country, but said that they could appreciate and understand that I must return to the United States as soon as possible in view of the serious situation in which the CPUSA now finds itself.

"NIKOLAI stated that the comrade who would contact me on the following day with regard to the African situation would also arrange that I receive instructions in 'communication methods.' Later on that day, I received a call from ALEXEI, telling me that he would bring this comrade to meet me at 10:00 a.m. on the following morning.

"On the following morning at 10:00 a.m., ALEXEI came to my hotel, bringing with him another individual. This person was a handsome fellow, of about 38 years of age. He was about 5'9½" tall, of medium build, very well groomed, neatly dressed in stylish American clothes, of dark complexion, and had black curly hair, hazel eyes and fine features. He

"was introduced to me by ALEXEI as 'comrade PETROV'. After the introduction, ALEXEI left us.

"PETROV, who speaks good English, but with a noticeable accent, then said to me, 'We'll go for a ride.' We left my hotel and went to his car, which was parked in the vicinity of the hotel. The automobile was a "Vulga," a medium-sized, five-passenger car, driven by a chauffeur.

"During a 25-minute ride, PETROV told me that he knew of me and my work; that I was not exactly a stranger to him, and that it was a great pleasure for him to meet me. He said that 'we' are interested in Africa and also in the [redacted] This was my first clue to the fact that PETROV is engaged in work of a special secret nature, since he must have received his information regarding the 'Wall Street man' from VLADIMIR BARKOVSKY, who is the only Soviet to whom I had mentioned the [redacted] BARKOVSKY undoubtedly reported to PETROV concerning what he had learned from me about the [redacted] I told PETROV that it was interesting that he should know about the [redacted] I asked him whether he was interested in this follow. He replied that he definitely was interested in the [redacted] but at the moment was more interested in Africa. b6 b7C b7D

"After riding for 25 minutes, the chauffeur let us off at a busy intersection in a new part of the city, Southwest on Leningradski Prospect. We walked around for a while in the area of Leningradski Prospect and finally entered a building on another street, the name of which I do not know, and went to apartment #59 in this building. It was a new apartment, and well furnished. The door was covered with leather padding and there were double locks on the door. From what I observed in the apartment, I concluded that no one lived there, but that it was used only for a particular purpose--in this case, as a photography school.

"At the apartment, we were welcomed by a man, whose name was not furnished to me. He was about 40 years of age, about 5'6" in height, weighed about 175 lbs., had brown hair and green eyes, was light complected, and wore glasses. PETROV

"did not furnish my name to this individual. PETROV sat down and told me that at this point he wished me to know that I was to be taught three things: Microfilming, the use of secret inks, and codes and ciphers. He said that what I would be taught at this particular time was microfilming, which would require fifteen hours of study on my part. He stated that the man to whom I had been introduced would be my instructor and that he, PETROV, would act as my interpreter.

"The instructor then said to me, 'We are going to teach you microfilming.' We sat down and the instructor brought out a brand-new Minox camera, Model S-3, 9 mm. He described the functions of the camera and its use with respect to microfilming. It is my opinion that the instructor had not been told that I had done microfilming work before. He talked to me as though I were a novice. He told me that this course ordinarily would require from 45 to 50 hours study, but that since I was to be in Moscow for only a few days, I should have to complete the course in three lessons, which would require about fifteen hours of work. He also told me that I would have to do 'homework,' meaning that I would have to do some microfilming in my hotel room.

"After explaining to me how the camera worked, he showed me how to load it and then asked me to do so. After that, he explained what he meant by focal range, distance and timing, and exposures.

"He told me that the conditions under which I would do microfilming would be difficult conditions, such as I might be confronted with in the performance of my work on the outside. He said that I should work with no gadgets, no stands, and no props, and that I should have to improvise as best as I could, using only the camera. He said it would be imperative that I get sharp and clear pictures, even under difficult conditions.

"With the Minox and the chain which is used with it for copying at distances, the instructor used whatever available materials there were around the apartment, such as books and newspapers, and made exposures at various distances, with the

"chain as a measure and using no props. After making about ten such exposures, he asked that I do what he did. He instructed me to set the camera in the correct position for loading; to load the camera; to make sure that my filters were not covering the lens; to make sure that the lens was clean; to set the lens, taking into consideration the available light which I had at that moment.

"I then made about 35 exposures. In one instance, I photographed an entire newspaper by dividing the newspaper into six exposures; in other words, I took six different shots of the newspaper. Having finished, I unloaded the exposed roll. The instructor then explained to me that although there are special containers and tanks which make developing easy, we must work under difficult conditions.

"He told me to go into the dark room, which in this case was a washroom; to take an ordinary pencil, with two thumbtacks, needles or straight pins; and to unload, with the pencil, the film, moving counter-clockwise on the pencil. The next operation was to insert the film, on the pencil, in a chemical which he used. In this way, we developed the film on the pencil. It was then washed with water from the kitchen. After the washing process, the instructor lit a gas jet in a gas range and from a distance waved the film so that it would become dry.

"When the roll was developed and dried, the instructor took a magnifying glass from his pocket, went to the window, and looked at my work. I personally thought I had botched the job terribly because I have never photographed copy in that manner before, with no props, and also, it seemed to me, that the room was much too dark. I also thought that the vibration of my hand would produce a 'fuzzy' negative. However, when the instructor looked at my exposures, he said that they were amazing, and as sharp and clear as his were. Turning to PETROV, he said, 'Who is this man?' The point of this question was that he was expressing surprise that I did as well as I did. PETROV made no reply to his question.

"The instructor then brought out another Minox camera,

"which had an exposure meter attachment, and began to explain the workings of the camera to me. I told him that he would have to excuse me, that I was terribly tired, and was not interested in that particular model because no one works with such a model. He indicated that we might discuss this camera at some other time and then told me to take back to my hotel with me material which I could use for practicing microfilming in my hotel room.

"On the return trip to my hotel, PETROV and I discussed Africa. I asked him how soon he would want the African story, most of which had been furnished to me verbally by IRVING POTASH, who in turn had received communications from BURTAN. I told him that I did not know the full details regarding BURTAN's activities in Africa, but that I would furnish to him as much as I knew regarding this matter. PETROV left me at my hotel and told me that he would be in contact with me.

"The following day was Sunday and PETROV did not communicate with me. I spent the day in practicing microfilming in my hotel room.

"On the following Monday, PETROV came to my hotel and told me that on that day, I was to learn about invisible inks.

"Incidentally, during the periods when I attended these instruction courses, nobody came near me. NIKOLAI and ALEXEI would call me either early in the morning or late at night to inquire about my health. They asked me no questions about what I was doing.

"On this occasion, we went to the same general neighborhood where we had gone for instruction in microfilming. We went to an apartment in a building in this area, the apartment being similar to the one where I had studied microfilming. I was introduced by PETROV to my instructor, who in this instance was a young woman. Again no names were mentioned. The young woman and I merely shook hands. She

"was about 25 years of age, about 5'4" in height, weighed about 130 lbs., had brown hair and brown eyes, and had a light complexion. She spoke in Russian, and again PETROV interpreted.

"She had a briefcase which contained all kinds of white blank papers, a box full of pencils, and a box containing colored paper of the same size as the white paper. The papers were blank, about 8½ x 11" in size. Some paper was lined writing paper which would fit a small #6 American envelope. I don't know the exact size of the other paper--it was of standard size, such as issued for personal stationery.

"She told me that in invisible ink writing, it was of paramount importance to have the proper type of paper. She said the paper had to be tested, since not all paper is good for use in writing with invisible ink. She also told me that it was important that a certain kind of medium-grey pencil be used. She had with her a German pencil, which had on it the following markings: 'A. W. Faber - Castell, 9000 Germany, 2B #1 or #2, #395 BA.' She said that these were German pencils, but that I should have to get similar pencils in the country in which I live. (She was not told--nor was the microfilming instructor--that I lived in the U.S.A.)

"The instructor lectured to me for about five hours and showed me the processes involved in writing with invisible ink. I cannot explain this in words. I shall have to demonstrate to someone who has knowledge of invisible ink writing. She then gave me a pad of paper, several sheets of which had been impregnated with invisible ink chemicals. I was told to take this back to my hotel room and to practice invisible ink writing. I was also given a pencil, such as I described above, to use in my work. This was my 'homework.'

"The lectures on invisible ink writing were given in three sessions, consisting of five hours each. The course in photography also extended over three sessions of five hours each.

"On the third day, PETROV called for me again. I

"noticed that on each occasion when PETROV took me from my hotel to the place of instruction, he brought with him a different automobile and a different driver. In each instance, however, the car was a 'Vulga.' We drove to a neighborhood which I believe to be in the center of Moscow, although I am not sure of this. We went to Frunze Street, which is not far from the Kremlin. We went to an apartment in a building on this street. It was a spacious two-room apartment. I could not determine whether anyone lived there regularly or not. At this apartment, I was introduced by PETROV to my instructor, again no names being mentioned. This individual was a man about 35 to 40 years of age, about 5'6" in height, having light blond hair, green eyes, and a very light complexion.

"My instructor told me that he was to teach me codes and ciphers. He spoke in Russian, but had a knowledge of English lettering. The first five hours of my instruction were devoted to teaching me how to formulate a key. He had me practice formulating a key and assigned to me the key words, 'elastic conscience.' The key contained forty squares. After five hours of this instruction, 'homework' was given to me.

"Preparation of messages depends upon the combined use of key words and the use of a booklet containing 23,000 groups of ciphers--referred to as 'gamma'--half of which are in black and half in red. The black are for transmission; the red are for receiving. A new key must be prepared with each message. The instructor informed me that all names, addresses, and important numbers should appear twice in a text.

"Upon the termination of all my courses, the woman instructor in invisible inks exhibited to me a large spiral notebook, which contained, I think, fifty sheets of lined paper, and told me that I would receive a similar notebook in New York. She said that although this notebook contained fifty sheets of paper, it contained only three sheets that were impregnated with secret ink. She then asked that I tell her which three pages of the fifty I should like, in the notebook that I am to receive, to be impregnated with secret ink. I told her that I should like to have pages four, five and six, from the rear, as the secret ink sheets.

"The instructor told me that one sheet could be used from twenty to forty times. She showed me a bottle of ink, which looked like a bottle of Sheaffer ink, and told me that I would receive such a bottle of ink in New York. She told me I should have to provide my own pencils.

"Then the cipher instructor told me that I was to receive two sets of gamma. He referred to gamma as a very small pad of tissue papers bound together--one in black for transmission of messages, and one in red for reception of messages. The gamma consists of ten groups of ciphers--five in each--and, I believe, fifty down. This is highly inflammable. The pads can be hidden in water, milk, or any liquid for years at a time. They will never spoil or dissolve.

"The gammas are used as follows: If my message contains ten lines, I am to destroy ten lines and use remaining lines. The paper in this operation seems to be a very fine, but strong, tissue. The gamma package is about one inch square.

"In a conversation later with PETROV, we discussed how I should maintain contact with BARKOVSKY. [redacted] b7D

PETROV stated that hereafter with regard to money to be delivered by BARKOVSKY to me, all such deliveries should be made to my office. He said that consideration is being given to giving me an instrument which can be inserted in my personal radio--wherever it may be--which can be tuned to a certain wave length and which will provide me with a means of receiving communication from BARKOVSKY. The radio could be set at a certain wave length and at a designated time, I would hear a signal which would sound like automobile horn honks. This would be notice to me that I was about to receive a message. I was given the impression that I, myself, could make installation of this instrument in the radio. PETROV also stated that BARKOVSKY would have to be consulted with regard to the advisability of giving me such an instrument.

"PETROV also gave me the following instructions with regard to how I am to contact BARKOVSKY in New York in the future:

"I am to call BARKOVSKY's New York number, ENdicott 2-7658, at 10:05 p.m. at night and again at 8:35 a.m. on the following morning. I am to let the phone ring twice and then

"hang up. On the day when I call him at 8:35 a.m., I am to call the number CI 7-9335, which is the number of a telephone booth, exactly at 4:05 p.m. Someone will answer my call. I am to say, 'Hello, this is Irving. Who is this?' The answer must be, 'Amory.' If the person answering the phone says, 'This is Amory,' I am to say, 'Sorry, I can't have lunch or dinner with you today.' I am to say, 'Goodbye,' and then hang up. This conversation means that at 7:00 p.m. on that evening I am to go to the Townhouse Restaurant in Queens, New York, where we have met before, and do exactly as I have done in the past; that is, to walk out of there at 7:00 p.m. sharp and walk as I have done in the past. DARKOVSKY is to follow me and make contact.

"If I have an important message to deliver to DARKOVSKY, but there is no need to see him personally, I am to do the following:

"I am to contact him telephonically as previously, at 10:05 p.m. and again at 8:35 a.m. on the following morning at Endicott 2-7658. I am to let the phone ring twice and then hang up. On the day that I make the call at 8:35 a.m., I am to call again at 4:05 p.m., to the CI 7-9335 number, and say, 'Hello, this is Irving. You know my sister Augusta (or Blanche, or Cailia -- each of these names refers to a particular place). She would like to see you. Will tonight be all right?' I am then to hang up.

"If the name Augusta is used, it refers to the 111 Club Cafe, at 111th Street and Jamaica Avenue, Queens. It further means that I will walk into the washroom at this address and deposit under the wash basin a message, in a small magnetic box, of the type used to conceal automobile keys. At 7:15 p.m. sharp, DARKOVSKY is supposed to come and pick up the message. At 9:00 p.m., I am to call CI 7-9335 and ask, 'How did you like my sister Augusta? Did you have a nice time?' If he should say, 'Yes,' that would indicate that everything is O.K. If he should say, 'No,' then I am to go immediately to the above-named washroom and retrieve the message which I had left there.

"If, during the call at 4:05 p.m. to CI 7-9335, I should refer to 'my sister Blanche,' LARKOVSKY is to understand that I will leave a message at a place called 'Ear, Wines and Liquors,' at 1037 Cortelyou Road, Brooklyn, under the same circumstances as at the 111 Club Cafe.

"If, during the call at 4:05 p.m. to CI 7-9335, I should refer to 'my sister Cellia,' LARKOVSKY is to understand that I will go to the Broadway Station at 163rd Street and Northern Boulevard--on the side where trains to New York run--and leave a message there. It further means that I will go into the washroom at this station, close the door, and face the said door from the inside of the washroom. As one looks toward the right side of the door, from inside the washroom, one can see a pipe near the wall about ten inches from the bottom. I will place the magnetized box under the said pipe.

"With regard to microfilm which I have occasion to deliver to LARKOVSKY, I was instructed by PETROV to give to him only undeveloped film. In other words, I am to take exposed film out of the cartridge, wrap it in light-proof paper, and hand it to him. In the event that anybody might take this microfilm from him, it would immediately become fogged upon opening.

"On our return trip to my apartment with PETROV, PETROV and I discussed surveillances. I told him that in New York City I was particularly careful to look for surveillances. He said to me that one always takes it for granted that he is being surveilled. He stated that when you are being surveilled by only two people, you may assume that this is 'a normal surveillance.' Such type of surveillance, he said, usually takes place on a particular day; for instance, on a Monday or a Friday, and on succeeding Mondays and Fridays. In other words, there is 'regularity' in such a surveillance.

"He said, however, that if the surveillances are conducted irregularly--for instance, first on Tuesday, then on Saturday--and there are more than two surveilling agents,

"then such a surveillance spells trouble. In that situation, it is best to 'stop dead in your tracks' and avoid making any contacts whatsoever.

"We also discussed telephone taps. He said that, in his opinion, some of the best ways to offset a telephone tap are running water, a running motor, or even a metronome. He said that nevertheless, noises can be separated from words and that tapping is hard to avoid. He said that he always takes it for granted that a telephone conversation is being overheard, and wherever possible avoids the use of a telephone.

"According to PETROV, the Soviets recently learned that an anti-tapping device has been installed in the White House and in the State Department."

NY 694-S* states that he realizes that he has not been able to explain clearly the technicalities involved in the microfilming, special ink, and code and cipher courses, which are mentioned above. He suggests that when he receives from the Soviets the material to be used in the secret ink writing, codes and ciphers, etc., mentioned above, he confer with a Bureau laboratory technician, to whom he can demonstrate what he has attempted to explain above. When this material arrives, Bureau will be advised, with a request that a laboratory technician be sent to New York to interview NY 694-S* in detail.

7/21/61

AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

On 7/18/61, NY 694-S* furnished the following info to SAS GEORGE EDWIN JONES and ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON:

NIKOLAI MOSTOVETS, head of the North and South American Section of the International Department of the CCCPSU, in a discussion with NY 694-S* in Moscow during July, 1961, stated that he was puzzled ~~by the~~ b. the fact that DOROTHY HEALEY had reported to GUS HALL that HALL and the CP,USA had been criticized by the CPSU for the manner in which the CP,USA internal affairs were handled.

MOSTOVETS said that although he personally had not talked to HEALEY while she was in the Soviet Union, he had been told that she was the most enthusiastic and happy member of the CP,USA delegation which attended the May Day celebration in Moscow. She had remarked, he was told, that she would return to her Party as a new person, realizing the mistakes that she had made in the past.

In view of her report to GUS HALL, MOSTOVETS said he could conclude only that she is hypocritical and that she has been, and still is, a revisionist.

3 - Bureau (100-428091) (RM)
1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B) (RM)
1 - NY 134-91 (Inv.) (41)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

ACB:gmg
(7)

134-91-2650

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FBI — NEW YORK

MOSTOVETS also stated that the CPSU desires that unity in the CP,USA be preserved, and that the CPSU is not in favor of CP,USA's expelling people from the Party. He noted that despite the fact that VYACHESLAV M. KOLOTOV, an leader of an opposition group, almost succeeded in taking the leadership of the CPSU from KHRUSHCHEV, KOLOTOV nevertheless was not expelled from the CPSU.

Inasmuch as the letterhead memo accompanying the NY teletype dated 7/19/61, reflected that DOROTHY HEALEY had reported to the CP,USA an alleged criticism of the CP,USA by a Soviet official, a letterhead memo is not being submitted.

7/21/61

AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

ON 7/18/61, NY 694-S* furnished the following info to SAS GEORGE EDWIN JONES and ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON:

In a meeting on July 3, 1961, in Moscow, with NIKOLAI MOSTOVETS, head of the North and South American Section of the International Department of the CCCPSU, and with MOSTOVETS' assistant, ALEKSEI GRECHUKHIN, who is in charge of the United States Section, the informant was asked why biographies of CP,USA functionaries had not been furnished to the CPSU by the CP,USA. MOSTOVETS stated that the CPSU had requested such biographies quite some time ago.

NY 694-S* informed MOSTOVETS and GRECHUKHIN that he personally had placed 55 biographies on microfilm, which he had given to VLADIMIR BARKOVSKY last October for transmittal to the CPSU. In the course of the discussion, NY 694-S* learned that MOSTOVETS and GRECHUKHIN had no knowledge of other material which he had placed on microfilm and given to BARKOVSKY for transmittal to the CPSU.

MOSTOVETS and GRECHUKHIN were visibly surprised to learn that the material concerning which they inquired had been sent by the CP,USA to the CPSU. MOSTOVETS instructed

3 - Bureau (100-428091) (RM)
1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B) (RM)
1 - NY 134-91 (Inv.) (41)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

ACB:[illegible]
(7)

134-91-2657

SEARCHED
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FILED
AUG 3 1961
FBI—NEW YORK

GRECHUKHIN to investigate this matter immediately.

NY 694-S* stated that from his discussion with KOSTOVETS and GRECHUKHIN, he inferred that the material on microfilm which he had transmitted to the CPSU through VLADIMIR BARKOVSKY had been delivered to the "secret service department" and never had reached the CCCPSU.

A letterhead memo is not being submitted herewith because it is believed that the info above is not suitable for dissemination.

7/21/61

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-423091)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

On 7/18/61, NY 694-S* advised SAS GEORGE EDWIN JONES and ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON as follows:

While in Moscow during July, 1961, the informant visited WILLIAM Z. FOSTER at a rest home outside Moscow. FOSTER greeted NY 694-S* cordially and seemed pleased when the latter stated that he brought best wishes to FOSTER from numerous CPUSA functionaries. Informant purposely avoided discussion of political subjects and the conversation was general in nature.

Suddenly, in the middle of a conversation about other matters, FOSTER shouted at NY 694-S*, "Are they still fighting centrists?" NY 694-S* believes that FOSTER now is suffering from paranoia.

No letterhead memorandum is being submitted herewith inasmuch as it is believed that to disseminate the above information would jeopardize the security of NY 694-S*.

3 - Bureau (100-423091) (RM)
1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B) (RM)
1 - NY (134-91) (INV) (41)
1 - NY (100-134637) (41)

ACB:mml
(7)
1 - Supervisor #41

134-91-2652

SERIALIZED
AUG 3 1961
FBI—NEW

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 08-12-2011

~~NOT SECRET~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply Please Refer to
File No 100-428291

Washington, D.C.
July 21, 1961

Re: Circulation of the Publication, World Marxist Review, In The United States

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished the following information in July, 1961:

"According to V. Zagladin, Assistant Editor of the World Marxist Review in Prague, Czechoslovakia, and a member of the Communist Party, of the Soviet Union, the translation of the World Marxist Review in the United States is not as good as expected. He stated that less than five hundred copies of this publication are sold in the United States.

Zagladin remarked that there is a need for articles by the 'working class cadre' of the Communist Party, United States of America, on the urge for peace among the workers and their hatred for monopoly capitalism.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~NOT SECRET~~

134-91-2653

Searched
Serialized
Indexed
Filed

7/21/61

AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 7 copies of a letterhead memo entitled, "Circulation of the Publication, World Marxist Review, In The United States."

The source of the info is NY 694-S*, who furnished this info to SAS ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON and GEORGE EDWIN JONES on 7/18/61.

The info contained in the letterhead memo was furnished to informant by V. ZAGLADIN during conversation with this individual in Prague, Czechoslovakia, during period 6/20-21/61

It is noted that in connection with possible Bureau dissemination, the info contained in the letterhead memo concerning the conversation is only known to two individuals and the letterhead memo is being submitted on the theory that the Bureau may find it necessary to make limited dissemination of this info.

Info contained in the letterhead memo is classified ~~"Top Secret"~~ because, by its nature, it tends to disclose NY 694-S* as the source thereof. This informant provides extremely high-level intelligence info, and continued acquisition of this info is vital to the national defense interests of this country

3 - Bureau (100-428091) (Enc. 7) (RM)
1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B) (Enc. 1) (RM)
1 - NY 134-91 (Inv.) (41)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

GEJ:cmg
(7)

134-91-2654

SERIALIZED ... FILED
AUG 3 ...
FBI—NEW ...

To give added security to this New York informant, the letterhead memo is being given a Washington, D.C. dateline as was suggested by the Bureau in their letter of 11/2/60, captioned as above, with respect to info furnished by CG 5824 S*

7/21/61

AIRTEL REGISTERED

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-423091)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

ReNYairtel dated 3/22/61, captioned "CPUSA - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, IS - C," concerning a letter sent to GUS HALL, CPUSA General Secretary, which was critical of HALL and the CPUSA, and signed ostensibly by TENG-Hsiao-ping, as First Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party.

On 7/18/61, NY 694-S* furnished the following information to SAS GEORGE EDWIN JONES and ALEXANDER C. EURLINSON:

While in Moscow, NY 694-S* contacted the Chinese Consulate there on June 29 and July 10, 1961. On June 29, the informant requested the Chinese Consul to make inquiry of the Chinese CP in Peiping regarding several matters, and to furnish him with the answers thereto at a later date.

He requested that the Chinese CP furnish its opinion regarding the authenticity of the letter received by GUS HALL, mentioned above. He also requested that the Chinese CP advise how the CPUSA and the CP of China should maintain contact. He further requested that the Chinese CP advise whether or not it was receiving material being sent to it by the CPUSA.

On July 10, 1961, in a conference with the Chinese Consul, whose name the informant does not recall, NY 694-S* was told the following:

3 - BUREAU (100-423091)(RM)
1 - CHICAGO (134-46-Sub B)(RM)
1 - NY 134-91 (INV)(41)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

ACB:mab
(7)
1 - SUP. 41

134-91-24855

SEARCHED ..... INDEXED .....
SERIALIZED ..... FILED .....
JUL 21 1961
FBI — NEW YORK

The Chinese CP had advised the Consul to tell NY 694-S* that the letter to HALL was a fraud--that the Chinese CP never sent such letters to anybody. It was common practice for "the enemy" to write letters such as this one.

The Chinese CP also acknowledged receipt of books from the CPUSA, and wished that NY 694-S* would convey the Chinese CP's thanks to the CPUSA.

With regard to contacts between the CPUSA and the CP of China, the CPUSA may contact the Consul at any Chinese Consulate in the world.

At this meeting with the Chinese Consul, NY 694-S* informed the latter that he had just received a message from the CPUSA to the following effect: CHARLES "BOB" COE had been requested to go to China immediately, but COE had not been told specifically why he was to go to China. Inasmuch as COE was not well, and would prefer not to go at this time to China, the CPUSA suggested that possibly NY 694-S* might be able to go to China in COE's place.

The Chinese Consul telephoned to Peiping regarding this matter and informed NY 694-S* that he had been advised that COE's going to China did not concern the Chinese CP--that it was a personal matter, in that CHARLES COE's brother, FRANK COE, had requested that CHARLES COE go to China.

No letterhead memorandum is being submitted since it is considered that the information reported above is not suitable for dissemination.

7/21/61

AIRTEL REGISTERED

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

On 7/18/61, NY 694-S* furnished the following information to SAS ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON and GEORGE EDWIN JONES:

Informant advised that during period 6/20-21/61, he had a meeting with ALDRICH KADERKA, of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovakian CP, at the Central Committee Building in Prague. This building was formerly known as the "State Transportation Building."

KADERKA extended greetings through informant to GUS HALL, General Secretary of the CPUSA, in the name of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovakian CP and in the name of ANTONIN NOVOTNY, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovakian CP.

At this meeting, KADERKA promised full cooperation in helping any CPUSA members who are traveling to or through Czechoslovakia "illegally." KADERKA also remarked that he would extend an official invitation to ELIZABETH HALL, wife of CPUSA General Secretary GUS HALL, and to PEGGY DENNIS, wife of deceased CP leader EUGENE DENNIS, to visit Czechoslovakia as a guest of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovakian CP on their return trip from Moscow to the United States.

No letterhead memorandum is being submitted in this matter because of the nature of this information.

3 - BUREAU (100-428091)(RM)
1 - CHICAGO (134-46-Sub B)(RM)
1 - NY 134-91 (Inv)(41)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)
ACB:GEJ:mfd (#41)
(7)

SEARCHED ... SERIALIZED ... FILED ...
AUG 3 1961
FBI — NEW YORK

134-91-2656

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 08-12-2011

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

100-302091

Washington, D. C.
July 21, 1961

Re: Population Problem in Czechoslovakia

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished the following information in July, 1961:

According to an individual by the name of Hanel, whose first name is not known, who is a member of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party, in charge of socialist countries, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia is greatly concerned with the population problem in Czechoslovakia, namely, the problem caused by a low birth rate.

Hanel stated that the Czechoslovakian women already refuse to have children and that the Party has declared this to be a most serious problem for the future, particularly in the provincial areas of Slovakia and in large population centers in the north. A highly concentrated educational campaign is being conducted by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia amongst the youth of the country and the Czechoslovakian Communist Party hopes that some "incentives" will be introduced to encourage the Czechoslovakian women to have large families.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

Searched
Serialized
Indexed
Filed

7/21/51

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134537)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are seven copies of a lettershead memorandum entitled, "Population Problem in Czechoslovakia."

The source of information in NY C94-C*, who furnished this information to SAS ALEXANDER C. [illegible] and GEORGE EDWIN JONES on 7/13/51.

The information in this lettershead memorandum was obtained by informant during conversation with (DNU) HAENDL, during period 6/20-21/51, in Prague, Czechoslovakia.

It is noted that in connection with possible Bureau dissemination, the information contained in the lettershead memorandum concerning the conversation is only known to two individuals and the lettershead memorandum is being submitted on the theory that the Bureau might find it necessary to make limited dissemination of this information.

3 - Bureau (100-428091) (Encls. 7) (RM)
1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B) (Encl. 1) (RM)
1 - NK (134-91) (INV) (41)
1 - NY (100-134537) (41)

GEJ:ml
(7)
1 - Supervisor #41

134-71-2658

[illegible]
FBI—[illegible]

NY 100-134637

Information contained in the letterhead memorandum is classified "Top Secret" because, by its nature, it tends to disclose NY 694-S* as the source thereof. This informant provides extremely high-level intelligence information, and continued acquisition of this information is vital to the national defense interests of this country.

To give added security to this New York informant, the letterhead memorandum is being given a Washington, D. C. dateline as was suggested by the Bureau in their letter of 11/2/60, captioned as above, with respect to information furnished by CG 5824-S*.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 08-12-2011

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.
100-[illegible]

Washington, D. C.
July 21, 1961

~~[illegible]~~

Re: Member of Albanian Consulate in Prague, Czechoslovakia, Asked for Asylum of Czechoslovakian Government

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished the following information in July, 1961:

According to an individual by the name of Hamdi, whose first name is not known, who is a member of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party, in charge of socialist countries, a member of the Albanian Consulate, in Prague, Czechoslovakia, recently asked for and received asylum from the Czechoslovakian Government. This was a private scandal when the member of the Consulate went to the headquarters of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party for safety and was subsequently granted asylum by the Czechoslovakian Government. This member of the Albanian Consulate claimed that his life was threatened and that he would have been bound hand and foot and carried back to Albania to be shot.

Hamdi did not provide any further reasons for above-described situation.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

134-91-2659

Searched
Serialized
Indexed
Filed

~~[illegible]~~

7/21/61

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are seven copies of a letterhead memorandum entitled "Member of Albanian Consulate in Prague, Czechoslovakia, Asked for Asylum of Czechoslovakian Government."

The source of information is NY 694-S*, who furnished this information to SAS ALEXANDER C. KIRKPATRICK and GEORGE EDWIN JONES on 7/18/61.

The information in the letterhead memorandum was obtained by informant during conversation with (FNU) HANDL, during the perid 6/20-21/61, in Prague, Czechoslovakia.

It is noted that in connection with possible Bureau dissemination, the information contained in the letterhead memorandum concerning the conversation is only known to two individuals and the letterhead memorandum is being submitted on the theory that the Bureau might find it necessary to make limited dissemination of this information.

3 - Bureau (100-428091) (Encls. 7) (RM)
1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B) (Encl. 1) (RM)
1 - NY (134-91) (INV) (41)
1 - NY (100-134637) (41)

GEJ:mml
(7)
1 - Supervisor #41

134-91-2660

FBI

NY 100-134637

Information contained in the letterhead memorandum is classified "~~Top Secret~~" because, by its nature, it tends to disclose NY 694-S* as the source thereof. This informant provides extremely high-level intelligence information, and continued acquisition of this information is vital to the national defense interests of this country.

To give added security to this New York informant, the letterhead memorandum is being given a Washington, D. C. dateline as was suggested by the Bureau in their letter of 11/2/50, captioned as above, with respect to information furnished by CG 5824-S*.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 08-12-2011

BEST AVAILABLE COPY

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

100-[illegible]

Washington, D. C.
July 31, 1961

[illegible]

Re: Current Relationship Between
The Communist Party of China and
The Communist Party of Czechoslovakia

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished the following information in July, 1961:

According to an individual by the name of Hendl, whose first name is not known, who is a member of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party, in charge of socialist countries, the Chinese Communist Party people in Czechoslovakia no longer maintain any social contact with members of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party. According to Hendl, the Chinese Communist Party officials stick to themselves and they just seem to disappear in their own world. There is not one personal friendship between a Chinese Communist Party official and a Czechoslovakian Communist Party official that is known to Hendl. The relationship of government officials between the Chinese and Czechoslovakia is more amiable and this holds true mostly among the airline people who have a sound and correct relationship.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

134-91-2661

Searched
Serialized
Indexed
Filed

[illegible]

7/21/61

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-423091)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are seven copies of a letterhead memorandum entitled, "Current Relationship Between the Communist Party of China and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia."

The source of information is NY 694-S*, who furnished this information to SAS ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON and GEORGE EDWIN JONES on 7/18/61.

The information in the letterhead memorandum was obtained by informant during conversation with (FNU) HANDL, during the period 6/20-21/61, in Prague, Czechoslovakia.

It is noted that in connection with possible Bureau dissemination, the information contained in the letterhead memorandum concerning the conversation is only known to two individuals and the letterhead memorandum is being submitted on the theory that the Bureau might find it necessary to make limited dissemination of this information.

3 - Bureau (100-423091) (Encls. 7)(RM)
1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B) (Encl. 1) (RM)
1 - NY 134-91 (INV) (41)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

GEJ:mml
(7)
1 - Supervisor #41

134-91-2662

SERIALIZED ... FILED
AUG 3 1961
FBI — NY

NY 100-134637

Information contained in the letterhead memorandum is classified "[redacted]" because, by its nature, it tends to disclose NY CG-S* as the source thereof. This informant provides extremely high-level intelligence information, and continued acquisition of this information is vital to the national defense interests of this country.

To give added security to this New York informant, the letterhead memorandum is being given a Washington, D. C. dateline as was suggested by the Bureau in their letter of 11/2/60, captioned as above, with respect to information furnished by CG 5824-S*.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 08-12-2011

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No. [illegible]

Washington, D.C.
July [illegible], 1961

Re: Harry Guarilnick and Anna Kuellar

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished the following information in July, 1961:

According to Harry Guarilnick, Canadian representative to the "World Marxist Review" in Prague, Czechoslovakia, he had recently returned from Israel where he attended the [illegible] Congress of the Communist Party of Israel held at Tel Aviv, Israel, May 31 - June 3, 1961.

According to Anna Kuellar, wife of Harry Guarilnick, she is occupied by writing articles on women in Czechoslovakia for Canadian Communist Party periodicals and is currently conducting a statistical survey on gains of Czechoslovakian women in the last two decades.

Harry Guarilnick and his wife will return to Canada in one year.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the F.I. [illegible] to your agency [illegible] its are not to [illegible] outside.

134-91-2663

Searched
Serialized
Indexed
Filed

7/21/61

AIRTEL REGISTERED

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI(100-428091)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 7 copies of a letterhead memorandum entitled, "Harry Guerilnick and Anne Bueller."

The source of the information is NY 694-S*, who furnished this information to SAS ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON and GEORGE EDWIN JONES on 7/18/61. NY 694-S* received this information during contact with GUERILNICK and BUELLER in Prague, Czechoslovakia, during period 6/20-21/61.

It is noted that in connection with possible dissemination, the information contained in the letterhead memorandum is known to only three individuals and the letterhead memorandum is being submitted on the theory that the Bureau might find it necessary to make limited dissemination of this information.

Information contained in the letterhead memorandum is classified ~~"Top Secret"~~ because, by its nature, it tends to disclose NY 694-S* as the source thereof. This informant

3 - BUREAU (100-428091)(Encl. 7)(RM)
1 - CHICAGO (134-46-Sub B)(Encl. 1)(RM)
1 - NY 134-91 (Inv)(41)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

GEJ:ACB:mfd (#41)
(7)

134-91-2664

SEAL
SERIAL
AUG 3 1961
FBI—NY

provides extremely high-level intelligence information, and continued acquisition of this information is vital to the national defense interests of this country.

To give added security to this New York informant, the letterhead memorandum is being given a Washington, D.C. dateline as was suggested by the Bureau in their letter of 11/2/60, captioned as above, with respect to information furnished by CG 5824-S*.

7/21/61

AIRTEL REGISTERED

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-426091)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

On 7/18/61, NY 694-C* furnished the following information to SAS ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON and GEORGE EDWIN JONES concerning informant's stay in Prague, Czechoslovakia, during period 6/20-21/61:

Informant met with LOUIS SAILLANT, member of the Secretariat of the "World Marxist Review". Nothing of note took place during this meeting, but merely was for the exchange of greetings between informant and SAILLANT.

Informant went to the residence of CHOU Yi-min, Chinese CP representative to the "World Marxist Review", and Head Chinese Communist member in Prague by virtue of the fact that he is a member of the Central Committee of the Chinese CP, to extend greetings to this individual. Informant was advised by an individual at this residence that CHOU Yi-min was not at home.

Above information being furnished to record contact with these individuals during informant's recent trip.

3 - BUREAU (100-426091) (RM)
1 - CHICAGO (134-46-Sub B) (RM)
1 - NY 134-91 (Inv) (41)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

ACB:GEJ:mfd (#41)
(7)

134-91-2665

SEARCHED
SERIALIZED
FBI - NY

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 08-22-2011

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.
100-423091

Washington, D. C.
July 21, 1961

~~TOP SECRET~~

Re: Member of Albanian Consulate in Warsaw, Poland, Deported from Poland

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished the following information in July, 1961:

According to Ladislav Kotzman, member of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovakian Communist Party, in charge of English-speaking countries, a member of the Albanian Consulate in Warsaw, Poland, had recently been deported from Poland because he had been caught 'spying.' Kotzman further stated that this will make the Albanian situation in all Communist countries more critical and will intensify the tensions between the Communist countries and Albania existing at the present time, with the exception of China.

~~TOP SECRET~~

Filed

134-71-2666

7/21/61

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SCLO
IS-C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are seven copies of letterhead memorandum entitled, "Member of Albanian Consulate in Warsaw, Poland, Deported from Poland."

The source of information is NY 694-S*, who furnished this information to SAS ALEXANDER C. EURLINSON and GEORGE EDWIN JONES, on 7/18/61.

The information set forth in letterhead memorandum was received by informant through conversation with LADISLAV KOTZMAN during the period 6/20-21/61.

Informant further learned that KOTZMAN was slated to go to the Mongolian Communist Party Congress in Ulan Bator, Outer Mongolia, and then to the Congress of the Communist Party of Japan.

It is noted that in connection with possible Bureau dissemination, the information contained in the letterhead memorandum concerning the conversation is only known to two individuals and the letterhead memorandum is being submitted onthe theory that the Bureau might find it necessary to make limited dissemination of this information.

134-91-2667

3 - Bureau (100-428091) (Encls. 7) (RM)
1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B) (Encl. 1) (RM)
1 - NY 134-91 (IIIV) (41)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

GEJ:eml
(7)
1 - Supervisor #41

RECORDED ..... INDEXED .....
SERIALIZED ..... FILED .....
FBI

NY 100-134537

Information contained in the letterhead memorandum is classified "~~Top Secret~~" because, by its nature, it tends to disclose NY CG4-S* as the source thereof. This informant provides extremely high-level intelligence information, and continued acquisition of this information is vital to the national defense interests of this country.

To give added security to this New York informant, the letterhead memorandum is being given a Washington, D. C. dateline as was suggested by the Bureau in their letter of 11/2/60, captioned as above, with respect to information furnished by CG 5824-S*.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 08-12-2011

~~SECRET~~

Washington, D.C.
July 21, 1961

Bu 100-428091

Re: Article to Appear in World Marxist Review Attacking United States Supreme Court

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished the following information in July, 1961.

According to V. Zagladin, Assistant Editor of World Marxist Review, and member of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and one Sharif, a Soviet assigned to the World Marxist Review, the World Marxist Review is planning an article to appear in the near future that will attack the United States Supreme Court for recent decisions effecting the Communist Party, USA. The article will call for Communist Parties throughout the world to join in this protest.

According to V. Zagladin, it was at his insistance that it will be noted in aforementioned article that the Supreme Court decisions were influenced by the "war danger" and by the fear of a "Negro revolution".

~~SECRET~~

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

134-91-26668
Searched
Serialized
Indexed
Filed

7/21/61

PLAIN TEXT

AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)(41)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 7 copies of a letterhead memorandum entitled "ARTICLE TO APPEAR IN WORLD MARXIST REVIEW ATTACKING US SUPREME COURT".

The source of the information is NY 694-S* who furnished this information to SAS ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON and GEORGE EDWIN JONES on 7/18/61.

The information contained in the memorandum was obtained by informant from the two individuals mentioned during informant's stay in Prague, Czechoslovakia during period 6/20-21/61.

By way of background, informant advised that (FNU) SHARIF mentioned in the letterhead memorandum stated that he is a North Caucasian and worked for many years with the "Moscow News" (English) and that he was in the KHRUSHCHEV entourage when KHRUSHCHEV visited the US in 1959.

It is noted that in connection with possible Bureau dissemination, information contained in the letterhead memorandum is known only to the three individuals involved in the conversation and the letterhead memorandum was submitted on the theory that the Bureau may find it necessary to make limited dissemination of this information.

3 - Bureau (100-428091)(RM) (Encls. 7)
1 - Chicago (134-46-sub B)(RM) (Encl.1)
(1) - New York (134-91)(Inv)(41)
1 - New York (100-134637)(41)
1 - Supervisor (41)

GEJ:rvs
(7)

134-91-24669

SEARCHED ... INDEXED ...
SERIALIZED ... FILED ...
AUG 3 1961
FBI—NEW YORK

NY 100-134637

Information contained in the letterhead memorandum is classified "~~Top Secret~~" because, by its nature, it tends to disclose NY 694-S* as the source thereof. This informant provides extremely high-level intelligence information, and continued acquisition of this information is vital to the national defense interests of this country.

To give added security to this New York informant, the letterhead memorandum is being given a Washington, D.C. dateline as was suggested by the Bureau in their letter of 11/2/60, captioned as above, with respect to information furnished by CG 5824-S*.

7/21/61

AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

Re NY airtel dated 7/19/61, captioned as above, concerning IGOR MICHAELOV, member of the International Department of the CCCPSU, Deputy to NIKOLAI MOSTOVETS, and a specialist with regard to U.S. trade unions.

On 7/18/61, NY 694-S* advised SAS GEORGE EDWIN JONES and ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON that while in Moscow during July, 1961, he was told by MICHAELOV that the latter is particularly interested in trade union problems in the U.S. and that he would appreciate receiving from the CP,USA any info reflecting the CP,USA's activities in U.S. trade unions.

Inasmuch as the letterhead memo accompanying the referenced NY airtel of 7/19/61 reflects MICHAELOV's interest in U.S. trade unions, no letterhead memo is being submitted herewith.

3 - Bureau (100-428091) (RM)
1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B) (RM)
1 - NY 134-91 (Inv.) (41)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

ACB:gmg
(7)

134-91-2670

AUG 8 1961
FBI—NEW YORK

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 08-12-2011

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

105-42031

Washington, D.C.
July 21, 1961

Re: Jacob Rudich

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, furnished the following information in July, 1961:

According to an individual by the name of Kunyantsev, first name not known, Chief Editor of the "World Marxist Review" in Prague, Czechoslovakia, and a member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Jacob Rudich, who was the Communist Party, United States of America, delegate to the World Marxist Review Economic Conference recently held in Prague, Czechoslovakia, made an outstanding contribution to this economic conference.

Kunyantsev was high in his praise of the work done by Rudich at this conference and stated that the leaders of the conference rewarded Jacob Rudich by sending him on a trip through the Soviet Union.

According to Kunyantsev, Jacob Rudich has already returned to the United States.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

134-91-2671

Searched
Serialized
Indexed
Filed

7/21/61

AIRTEL REGISTERED

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-420091)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)(41)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 7 copies of a letterhead memorandum entitled, "JACOB BUDISH."

The source of the information is NY 694-S*, who furnished this information to SAS ALEXANDER C. EUKLINSON and GEORGE EDWIN JONES on 7/18/61. The information set forth in the letterhead memorandum was received by informant through direct conversation with (FNU) NEMYANTSEV during period 6/20-21/61, in Prague, Czechoslovakia.

It is noted that in connection with possible dissemination, the information contained in the letterhead memorandum is known to only two individuals and the letterhead memorandum is being submitted on the theory that the Bureau might find it necessary to make limited dissemination of this information.

Information contained in the letterhead memorandum is classified "TOP SECRET" because, by its nature, it tends to disclose NY 694-S* as the source thereof. This informant

3 - BUREAU (100-420091)(Encl. 7)(RM)
1 - CHICAGO (134-46-Sub B)(Encl. 1)(RM)
1 - NY 134-91 (Inv)(41)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

ACD:CLJ:mfd (#41)
(7)

134-91-2672

SERIALIZED
FBI—NEW YORK

AIRTEL TO BUREAU
NY 100-134637

provides extremely high-level intelligence information, and continued acquisition of this information is vital to the national defense interests of this country.

To give added security to this New York informant, the letterhead memorandum is being given a Washington, D.C. dateline as was suggested by the Bureau in their letter of 11/2/60, captioned as above, with respect to information furnished by CG 5824-S*.

7/21/61

AIRTEL REGISTERED

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C

On 7/18/61, NY 694-S* furnished to SAS ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON and GEORGE EDWIN JONES the following information:

While in Moscow in July, 1961, NY 694-S* discussed with NIKOLAI VLADIMIROVICH MOSTOVETS, Head of the North and South American Section of the International Department of the Central Committee of the CP of the Soviet Union, the matter of securing floating visas for CPUSA functionaries, who, as a result of the Supreme Court decision, might have occasion to travel illegally to Moscow.

b6
b7C
b7D

MOSTOVETS stated that in an emergency, floating visas could be obtained in Rome, but that it would be better if they be obtained in Prague. He said it would not be advisable to obtain such visas in London and Paris, but that the Soviet consulates in London and Paris had definite instructions to issue to CPUSA functionaries, upon request, the standard type visa.

MOSTOVETS said he was aware of the fact that GUS HALL had submitted to [redacted] certain

3 - BUREAU (100-428091) (RM)
1 - CHICAGO (134-46-Sub B) (RM)
1 - NY 134-91 (Inv) (41)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

ACB:GEJ:mfd (#41)
(7)

134-91-2673

SEARCHED ..... INDEXED .....
SERIALIZED ..... FILED .....
AUG 3 1961
FBI—NEW YORK

economic questions and that MOSTOVETS desired that a copy of [redacted] answers to these questions be sent to him. b7D

MOSTOVETS also requested that he be furnished a copy of ABE UNGER's article which is critical of the CPUSA leadership. He further requested that from now on the CPUSA furnish to the CPSU "political characterizations" of people coming to the Soviet Union. He also requested that the CPUSA furnish such people with "proper credentials."

MOSTOVETS then referred to individuals from the USA who are to attend a meeting of Spanish War Veterans in East Berlin on the 15th of July. He requested that the CPUSA furnish him with a list of those who have been "approved" by the CPUSA for travel to Moscow.

No letterhead memorandum is being submitted, inasmuch as it is considered that the matters mentioned above are not appropriate for dissemination.

SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637) 7/20/61

SA GEORGE EDWIN JONES

SOLO
IS-C

On 7/17/61, NY 694-S* furnished to SA ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON and SA GEORGE EDWIN JONES the following documents.

Photostats have been furnished to Bureau and Chicago by airtels 7/19/61.

Being placed in 1B section of 100-134637.

1. "Information Bulletin" Bulletin No. 2 - May, 1961, published in Prague, Czechoslovakia (airtel 7/19)

2. Reception held by CCCPSU and Council of Ministers of USSR for Graduates of Military Academy (airtel 7/19)

3. "Speech by N. S. KHRUSHCHEV at a meeting of Representatives of Moscow Public to Mark 20th Anniversary of the Beginning of the Great Patriotic War" (airtel 7/19)

4. Joint Soviet-Korean Communique (airtel 7/19)

5. Dr. KWAME NKRUMAH, President and Head of Republic of Ghana arrives in Moscow (airtel 7/19)

6. China Stands for Peaceful Coexistence (airtel 7/19)

7. The Leninist National Policy in Action

8. Heroic Exploits of the Soviet People 7/19

9. "Program of Soviet Aviation Show" Sunday 7/9/61

1-NY 134-91 (INV.) (41)
1-NY 100-134637 (41)

GEJ:ume
(2)

134-91-2674

SEARCHED.....INDEXED.....
SERIALIZED.....FILED.....
JUL 3 0 1961
FBI - NEW YORK

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

New York, New York
August 2, 1961

Bufile 100-3-81

Title	Communist Party, United States of America - International Relations
Character	Internal Security - C
Reference	New York memorandum, dated and captioned as above.

All sources (except any listed below) used in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

134-91-2675

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Indexed
Filed

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 08-12-2011

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to File No.

New York, New York
August 2, 1961

Bufile 100-3-81

Re: Communist Party, United States of America - International Relations
Internal Security - C

A confidential source advised in July, 1961, that at the recent World Marxist Review Economic Conference in Prague, Czechoslovakia, there was a discussion for several days on the subject of the structure of the working class. Questions discussed relative thereto were: (1) Whether wage earners not participating directly in the production of value and surplus value (e.g., office workers) should be considered as part of the working class, or as semi-proletarians and potential allies of the working class; (2) What effect the changes in the structure of the working class, stemming from accelerated mechanization and automation, produce on the degree of skill - in the broadest sense of that term - demanded from workers in capitalist enterprises - that is, whether automation leads to an upgrading or to a downgrading of the wage earners; and (3) Labor aristocracy under the changed structure brought about by the accelerated mechanization and automation of the processes of production.

With one exception, the participating economists basically agreed that all wage earners who own no means of production - and are obliged to depend on the sale of their labor power - whether physical or mental - in order to make a

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134-91-2676
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Re: Communist Party, United States of America - International Relations
Internal Security - C

living, who have no directing voice in determining the process of production or volume of output, and who are subject to the direction of an employer - the owner of the means of production or his agents - are members of the working class.

With regard to employees not connected directly with the production of value and surplus value or with its realization, such as teachers, junior medical staff, sanitation employees, etc., the participating economists considered such employees as marginal cases. Their exact position with regard to the working class depends on the condition of their employment in each case, and the entire question demands further research and discussion.

However, government employees and employees of agencies whose main function is repression, such as army, police, firemen frequently used as an auxiliary to the police, employees of intelligence or detective agencies, of courts, of the church hierarchy, etc., do not belong to the working class, and in many cases must be considered as the henchmen or retinue of the capitalist class. Household servants are to be considered as semi-proletarians.

The definition of the working class as outlined above was adopted by the Conference with the proviso that, because of the changes in the structure of the working class that are taking place at present at an accelerated but somewhat different rate in various countries, the outlined definition is not to be considered as ultimate and definitive, but as one reached and agreed to by all particpants at the present stage of the discussions, and to be further examined.

On the question concerning the effect of automation on the upgrading or downgrading of the workers, the consensus of the participating economists was that the experience of the workers of individual automated plants in various countries must be further studied with a view to more clearly defining not merely general tendencies but also the extent to which automation affects requirements of skill in the capitalist system of production, including the effects of protective measures - if any - carried out by organized labor of the respective countries.

Re: Communist Party, United States of America - International Relations Internal Security - C

On the question of labor aristocracy the conference agreed that the former objective conditions on which a labor aristocracy had been based no longer prevailed. The small, highly skilled trades which at one time were able to paralyze an industry by striking, and whose unions were frequently considered and used by Big Business as a kind of insurance against the unionization of the great masses of semi-skilled and unskilled workers in the mass industries have now practically disappeared as a basis for the existence and power of the labor aristocracy.

However, in the experience of practically all participants in the conference, another type of labor aristocracy is now developing and is, to a certain extent, already in existence, especially in the United States. This new labor aristocracy is based not so much on highly skilled trades as on the development of a strong and corrupt trade union bureaucracy, and also of some privileged licensed groups of workers, such as licensed plumbers and electricians who, although not more skilled than most of the other workers in the respective industries, are the beneficiaries of special privilges by virtue of their receiving licenses from municipal authorities and other authorized agencies, without which a worker cannot be employed on certain better-paying jobs.

This is one method used by the capitalist class to corrupt certain sections of the working class. These groups, together with the highly paid trade union bureaucracy that is in certain countries allied with the politicians of the major capitalist parties and in some cases also with the hierarchy of the Catholic Church, now form a peculiar type of labor aristocracy that lends itself to the service of the capitalist class.

A second confidential source advised on January 10, 1960, that "World Marxist Review" is the theoretical organ of the international Communist movement, prepared and edited in Prague, Czechoslovakia, and printed in several languages in various cities throughout the world.

8/4

8/2/61

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-81)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-86624)

SUBJECT: CPUSA-INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
IS-C
(CO:NY)

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are seven copies of a letterhead memorandum containing a summary of a report on the recent World Marxist Review Economic Conference, held at Prague, Czechoslovakia, by JACOB BUDISH, former editor of the English language page of the "Morning Freiheit."

There also are enclosed herewith two Photostats of BUDISH's report, the original of which BUDISH had sent to NY 694-S* on 8/1/61, for transmittal to GUS HALL.

Reference NYairtel to Bureau, copy to Chicago, 7/21/61, captioned, "SOLO; IS-C," reflecting that while in Prague in June, 1961, NY 694-S* was told by "[illegible]," chief editor of the "World Marxist Review," that BUDISH, who had been a CPUSA delegate to the above-mentioned conference, had made an outstanding contribution thereto, and as a reward, had been permitted to visit the Soviet Union.

The confidential source utilized in the letterhead memorandum is NY 694-S*, who furnished the above information to SA ALEXANDER C. BURLISSON on 8/1/61.

4-Bureau (100-3-81) (Encls. 8) (RM)
(1-100-229628) (JACOB MORDECHAI BUDISH) (Encls. 2)
1-Chicago (134-46) (CO 5[illegible]-S*) (Encl. 1) (RM)
1-NY 134-91 (INV.) (41)
1-NY 100-46260 (JACOB MORDECHAI BUDISH)
1-NY 100-86624 (415)

AGB:[illegible]
(9)

1-Supervisor #41

134-91-2677

SEARCHED ..... INDEXED .....
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AUG 2 1961
FBI - NEW YORK

NY 100-[illegible]

The confidential source utilized to document the "World Market Review" is CS [illegible].

This memorandum has been classified "~~confidential~~" because it contains information from a source the unauthorized disclosure of which would seriously impair the investigation of the CFTSA. Such impairment could have an adverse effect upon the national defense interests of the country.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 08-12-2011

FBI

DATE: 8/2/61

Transmit the following via AIRTEL ~~AIR MAIL~~

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-63)
(100-3-104)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-74560)
(100-129802)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
FUNDS
INTERNAL SECURITY-C

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM
IS-C
(OO:NY)

ReBuairtel, 7/14/61, to St. Louis, copies to Chicago and NY, captioned as above, reflecting that the CPUSA would receive a substantial amount of money from the estate of an individual in the St. Louis area, and that the said individual was probably MARY UEKER, who died in 1960, leaving an estate of $24,637.00 to three individuals, the sole surviving beneficiary being IDA MARIZ. ReBuairtel further reflected that information had been received that MARIZ would turn the proceeds of the estate over to the CP in accordance with MARY UEKER's wishes.

On 8/2/61, NY 694-S* made available to SA ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON $15,000.00 in $20 bills concerning which he advised as follows:

4-Bureau (100-3-63) (RM)
(1-100-3-104)
2-Chicago (100-) (CPUSA-FUNDS) (RM)
(1-100-) (CPUSA-COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM)
3-St. Louis (100-) (CPUSA-FUNDS) (RM)
(1-100-) (CPUSA-COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM)
(1-100-) (IDA MARIZ)
1-NY 134-91 (INV.) (41)
1-NY 100-128861 (CPUSA-RSERVE FUND) (415)
1-NY 100-84994 (GUS HALL) (415)
1-NY 100-129802 (CPUSA COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM) (41)
1-NY 100-74560 (415)

134-91-2678

ACB:ume
(15)

~~TOP SECRET~~

Classified by 334 on 12/4/74
Exempt from GDS, Category 2
Date of Declassification indefinite

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AUG 2 1
FBI - NEW YORK

~~TOP SECRET~~

NY 100-74560

On the evening of 8/1/61, GUS HALL, CPUSA General Secretary, gave to NY 694-S* the aforementioned $15,000.00 and requested that it be deposited with CPUSA Reserve Funds.

HALL stated that the $15,000.00 was part of a sum of $20,000.00 given to him on 8/1/61, by an elderly couple for the use of the CPUSA. HALL did not mention these people by name, but described them as friends of his wife. He said this money represented their savings, and that they intended to live hereafter on their income from Social Security.

The NYO is of the opinion that the aforementioned $20,000, received by HALL allegedly from an elderly couple, may be the proceeds of the MARY UEKER estate less estate taxes and attorney's fees.

It is suggested that St. Louis ascertain whether the MARY UEKER estate has been settled, and if possible, whether IDA MARIZ converted the proceeds from the estate into $20 bills.

The numbers on the $15,000.00 in $20 bills given by HALL to NY 694-S* will be checked against lists of currency issued to Soviet establishments in NYC and Washington, D.C., and the Bureau will be advised in the event any positive identification of the bills should be made.

Extreme caution should be exercised with respect to dissemination of the information herein obtained from NY 694-S* since, by its nature, said information tends to identify NY 694-S* as the source thereof. Under no circumstances should this information be incorporated - even in paraphrased form - in the investigative section of a report.

~~TOP SECRET~~

8/4

FBI

Date: 8/3/61

Transmit the following in _____

Via AIRTEL _____

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-262352)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-157368)

SUBJECT: DR. VALENTINE GREGORY BURTAN
SM-C

Utmost caution must be exercised with respect to dissemination of the information herein since, by its nature, it tends to identify NY 694-S*, a valuable informant, as the source thereof. This information should not be included in the investigative section of a report, and should be utilized for lead purposes only.

On 8/3/61, NY 694-S* made available to SA ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON a letter dated 7/28/61 and postmarked "London W. C.", addressed to the drop FRANK WILES. The said letter sent to IRVING POTASH by BURTAN via the drop reads as follows:

"My dear Frank. I'm in quite a dilemma regarding further plans. If you think I should go back to Africa then I'll have to just go to the States & arrange for donations towards a clinic in Kenya -- I'll have to raise about 15 - 20. There was no further reason for me to stay there without arousing speculation. Of course Ed is in Kampala, but we saw each other & spoke by phone several times. On the other hand if it's not necessary any further then I could make arrangements for the other place - though I would like to hear from Joe that I can still be used. In fact I wrote him & asked him to contact the doctor and cable me or write.

4 - BUREAU (100-262352) (RM)
(1 - 100-3-81) (CP, USA - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)
2 - CHICAGO (100-14512) (DR. VALENTINE GREGORY BURTAN) (INFO) (RM)
(1 - 134-46) (CG 5824-S) (INFO)
1 - NY 134-91 (INV.) (41)
1 - NY 100-48033 (IRVING POTASH) (415)
1 - NY 100-25904 (J. LOVESTONE) (31)
1 - NY 105-6808 (KOHANNA WILES) (424)
1 - NY 100-157368 (att.) (424)

ACB:DJG
(12)

134-91-2679

SEARCHED _____ INDEXED _____
SERIALIZED _____ FILED _____
AUG 3 1961
FBI — NEW YORK

"Your advice is important so I wish you'd wire John and let me know what to do or better still phone him Sunday at home - Forest Hills - 6449.

"Or on Monday at his office Ilford 2948.

"Don't forget there's 5 hrs. difference.

"Not hearing a thing I couldn't tell if my stuff was dribble or of use. At any rate my contacts are good and useful.

"I stopped in Paris for a while & will do a little more travelling before deciding so that you have time. If you decide to air mail be careful, John's stuff is uncertain.

"I hope you receive this letter Saturday - I don't want to mail it Special Del."

NY 694-S* advised that he would deliver the original letter to IRVING POTASH and if there is any hidden meaning in the letter, this will be furnished to the Bureau.

Inasmuch as dissemination of the information herein would jeopardize the security of the informant, a letterhead memorandum is not being submitted to the Bureau.

Paragraphs 1 and 2, Page 1

Believe "growth gap" caused by (1) "structural weaknesses"; (2) special temporary factors, mainly inept management of credit expansion and interest rate control in 1957, 1958. The structural reasons have been important, including the attainment of a relatively high standard of living in the United States earlier than in other countries, with the result that, with the physical saturation of a large share of the theoretical unit market in many types of household appliances, the public became able to shift its spending activities towards vacations, education and other fields broadly classified in a service area rather than in an area of physical production -- and requiring far less in the way of steel, copper, cement and the other basic elements, which have entered into the rapid growth of physical production totals in foreign countries. That markets ever can be saturated, or nearly so, has been denied by many economists, but the denial was more persuasive when there was always a new industry to require a large physical output to take the place of another industry in a stage of decline. This has not fully been so, here; in the past decade the last strictly new industry to obtain a big physical consumer market was TV set manufacturing. And, in the important field of housing, here, for more than a decade unit construction of housing facilities has, year by year, run far beyond net new family formation.

134-71-2680

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These factors have meant that economic adjustments have been needed toward shifting requirements and, thus far, the adjustments have not been very well or easily made as very few seem to have been adequately prepared in advance for what to most people has been a somewhat surprising problem. In meeting what could be interpreted as structural weaknesses there has been the same kind of ineptitude already mentioned in connection with credit management.

It is difficult to deny that if a broadly changed economic emphasis in the direction of actual changes in public demand and peoples needs is developed a more rapid rate of growth will be seen than during the average of recent years. There is no need, apparently, for the type of very rapid growth being experienced abroad, and if it did take place here it would probably create more problems than it would solve.

Problems have not been thought fully through about (1) curtailing hours of work to reduce unemployment (In the absence of very rapid economic growth continuing mechanization will make unemployment a refractory problem with attendant wide injustices.); (2) directing public expenditures towards fields of wide public benefit, such as education, national park conservation and other fields of activity involving definite social benefit. Instead, stimulation of production and employment is now being brought about in large part through an increase of armaments production and personnel in the armed forces.

Paragraph 3, Page 1

Have not studied exact data on concentration and centralization. Ever since the 1920s a high degree of concentration has continuously existed. Figures in this field can be misleading as a formal consolidation frequently merely makes public a previous working arrangement. In some directions a steadily increasing percentage of business has been obtained by smaller competitors, such as small meat packers operating under the price umbrella of the major national packers. This is a complex field and I can offer little that would be useful in its bearing on economic growth. In some areas where monopoly control has been strong, such as in the steel industry, there has been too much growth - ie, too much increase in capacity -- and the monopolists are the first to regret this.

Paragraph 1, Page 4

Armament expenditures here have caused tax burdens which have raised costs and impeded growth. For instance, our exports have been much higher in price than if taxes were low. Countries, such as Germany and Japan, with small armament expenditures and relatively low taxes have obtained benefits in expansion of export position. Armament expenditures have been a net burden on the U. S. economy, long term, in spite of short term benefits.

The broadening of war industries created a temporary imbalance in our economy during World War II, as was the experience of every nation involved in the war. The main imbalance since World War II and since the Korean War has been expansion of industries catering to civilian demand. Those include steel, aluminum and paper as leading examples. Among these, aluminum has suffered especially, because with civilian demand less than expected, military consumption has shifted from aluminum to other metals.

Page 2, Paragraph 1

Don't know.

Page 2, Paragraph 2

Consumer purchasing power seems inadequate now. But what the correct ratio should be for economic growth or growth of living standards is difficult to say. Consumer purchasing power in a capitalist economy always seems less than needed, except when the consumer has so much confidence that he is racing into debt, a process that guarantees a shock and lessened confidence at some later point. However, figures from the manufacturing segment of the economy taken alone are misleading.

Since the early 1920s there has been a steady down trend in the percentage of total employment and total wages earned by manufacturing employees. Most of the increase of efficiency and technological unemployment that has been seen has been in manufacturing, and in certain areas of transportation, such as railroading. Also in agriculture increased efficiency has caused reduced employment as in most countries of the world. There has been a large increase in employment in contrast in the services industries where technological efficiencies have not been striking.

Paragraph 3, Page 2

Increased business investment and efficiency cuts employment unless reduced prices forced by competition increase the market. It is hard to give a definite answer to the question of what tax incentives would do, especially since not all of the new investment stimulated by tax incentives would go for labor saving equipment alone. Historically, tax incentives have sometimes worked unexpectedly, and increasing capital investment has not been unknown when industry was operating below 80% of capacity.

Paragraph 4 and following

U. S. business is much less dependent on exports, for growth or any other purpose, than business of other countries. In recent years, and historically, a much smaller than average percentage of our output has been exported -- even though the United States still is the largest exporting nation. Business is highly aware of the growing export problem and is not happy about the long term outlook for exports and, therefore, is pushing hard for every kind of government aid subsidy and guarantee for the support of export activity.

Paragraphs 1 and 2, Page 3

The U. S. share of world economy has been declining steadily and is expected to continue to decline. This decline has been inevitable for many reasons. Most important is that other nations, both capitalist and non capitalist have been "catching up" with earlier growth of the U. S. Over the long run our extremely high output per person and, likewise our extremely high output in relation to natural resources, had to decline relative to world output as modern production techniques become adopted elsewhere and as raw material reserves, ie, copper, oil, non ferrous metals, previously under-exploited elsewhere come under intensive exploitation.

Paragraph 3, Page 3

Development of widened economic groups in Europe will (1) Intensify competition with U. S. exports; (2) Increase competition in the domestic market through more efficient production in industries exporting to the U. S. This will probably more than offset the profits expected by American business in increased profits of their own European subsidiaries and in increased exports of certain types of goods to markets in Europe that will become substantial only with the new grouping. In contrast with this viewpoint, most American business and government circles appear to consider the new developments in Europe favorable to us.

Paragraph 4, Page 3

If the U. S. does not move towards meeting markets in Socialist countries, it faces a possibility of permanent loss of important markets. Competing capitalist countries, such as Canada and most of the countries of Western Europe, are leaping to supply the goods that by policy decision we are not providing; thereby relationships are being set up that will be extremely difficult to change if we ourselves have a later change of policy.

Paragraphs 5 and 6, Page 3

The decline of U. S. position in the export market to Latin America and Africa is part of our general over-all decline in relative world importance. Decline in exports to Latin America has been accelerated by the collapse of the commodity economies of many of the Latin American countries. Our decreases in investments in Latin America reflect (1) repatriation of capital from unprofitable or threatened enterprises; (2) continual currency devaluations as in Brazil and (3) losses through confiscation. American business is highly uninterested in the program of economic penetration of Latin American countries, excepting as this program is reinforced by government guarantees. The experience of American business in Cuba, where not a single U. S. enterprise benefited from a government guarantee, has had an important effect on the plans of business for the entire Latin American area.

8/10

8/4/61

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-415964)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK [redacted]

SUBJECT: [redacted]

ReNYlets to Bureau dated 5/25/61, 6/23/61, and two lets dated 7/28/61, one captioned as above, and the other captioned, "SOLO; IS-C." Particular reference is made to those portions of the referenced lets concerning the set of questions prepared by GUS HALL for comment and answer by [redacted]

On 8/3/61, [redacted] dictated detailed formal answers to the above-referred to questions to an NYO steno. In his formal answers, [redacted] refers, paragraph by paragraph, to the questions presented to him. These questions are included in NYlet of 5/25/61.

The original typewritten copy is being given to the informant for submission to his contact, NY 694-S*. Two copies, therefore, are being submitted to the Bureau with this airtel.

The informant advised that his answers, though detailed and complicated, were nevertheless compiled from available factual information of a non-confidential nature. b7D

[redacted] advised that he is awaiting the next contact by NY 694-S*, at which time he will present the formally prepared answers.

The Bureau will be advised of all further developments in this matter.

3 - Bureau (100-415964)(Encls. 2)(RM)
1 - New York (134-91)(Inv.) (41)
1 - New York [redacted] (Inv.) (41)
RJQ:MEW
(6)

134-91-2681

SEARCHED ____ INDEXED ____
SERIALIZED ____ FILED ____
AUG 3 1961
FBI — NEW YORK

5/10

6/4/51

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-7165)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-1150)

SUBJECT: JAMES LUCHIG
ES-C

On 6/3/51, NY 694-C* advised SA ALEXANDER C. LUMELEON as follows:

GUS HALL, CPUSA General Secretary, informed NY 694-C* on 6/2/51, that on Saturday, 6/9/51, he and IRVING POTASH, CPUSA Labor Secretary, would visit the captioned subject at the Westchester farm of HENRY WALLACE, where LUCHIG is employed. The meeting with LUCHIG will be "secret," and the purpose thereof is to persuade LUCHIG to become active in the NY State CP leadership.

On 6/4/51, [redacted] advised that according to PHIL BART, CPUSA Organizational Secretary, GUS HALL and JACK STACHEL would go to Westchester on 6/9/51, to visit JAMES LUCHIG b7D

NY 694-C* has been alerted to ascertain from GUS HALL the result of the latter's meeting with LUCHIG.

A lotterhead memorandum is not being submitted because it is believed that to disseminate the above information would jeopardize the security of NY 694-C*, a valuable informant.

4-Bureau (100-7165) (RM)
(1-100-3-69) (CPUSA-ORGANIZATION)
1-NY 134-91 (NEW.) (41)
1-NY 100-122014 (CPUSA-WHD-ORGANIZATION) (414)
1-NY 100-[illegible] (GUS HALL) (415)
1-NY 100-56979 (PHIL BART) (415)
1-NY 100-[illegible] (IRVING POTASH) (415)
1-NY 100-[illegible] (JACK STACHEL) (415)
1-NY 100-1150 (421)

ACH:tmo
(13)
1-Supervisor #41
1-Supervisor #421

134-91-21682
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SERIALIZED.....FILED.....
JUN 1951
FBI - NEW YORK
Burtman

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-262352) August 4, 1961

SAC, CHICAGO (100-14512)

DR. VALENTINE GREGORY BURTAN
SM - C
(OO:NY)

ReNYairtel dated June 19, 1961.

Reairtel noted that NY 694-S* had arranged during his trip abroad for mail received from the subject through a New York "mail drop" be transmitted to CG 5324-S* in Chicago. New York requested the Chicago Office to process and handle this mail and advise the Bureau and New York of its contents.

During the absence of NY 694-S*, a total of four communications were received from the subject which had been forwarded to CG 5324-S* in Chicago. All of this material was processed by the Chicago Office and the Bureau and New York advised.

Since no additional action is required in connection with this case, it is being considered RUC'd.

RUC

2-Bureau (RM)
2-New York (RM)
(1-100-157363 (Dr. VALENTINE GREGORY BURTAN)
(1-134-91) dno.
2-Chicago
(1-134-46)

RWH:MDW
(6)

2683

8/8

FBI

Date: 8/7/61

Transmit the following in _____

Via AIRTEL _____
Priority or Method of Mailing

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-7166)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-1158) (421)

SUBJECT: JAMES LUSTIG
SM-C

ReNY airtel, 8/4/61, captioned as above.

On 8/7/61, NY 694-S* advised SA ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON as follows:

On 8/6/61, GUS HALL telephonically informed NY 694-S* that on 8/5/61, HALL and IRVING POTASH had contacted JAMES LUSTIG and agreed as follows: LUSTIG will replace LOUIS WEINSTOCK as business manager of "The Worker"; WEINSTOCK will replace MILTON ROSEN as head of the Industrial Division of the New York State CP, and MILTON ROSEN will be removed from leadership.

HALL emphasized to NY 694-S* that the latter should not disclose the above information to anyone at this time.

A letterhead memorandum is not being submitted because it is believed that to disseminate the above information would jeopardize the security of NY 694-S*, a valuable informant.

4 - Bureau (100-7166) (RM)
1-(100-3-69) (CPUSA - ORGANIZATION)
1 - NY 134-91 (INV) (41)
1 - NY 100-128814 (CPUSA, NYD - ORGANIZATION) (414)
1 - NY 100-132430 (CPUSA, NYD - INDUSTRIAL DIVISION) (414)
1 - NY 100-118174 (MILTON ROSEN) (414)
1 - NY 97-169 ("THE WORKER") (415)
1 - NY 100-48033 (IRVING POTASH) (415)
1 - NY 100-26018 (LOUIS WEINSTOCK) (415)
1 - NY 100-1158 (421)
ACB:mml
(16)

134-91-2684

(42) INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
AUG 7 1961
FBI - NEW YORK

41

Approved: _____ Sent _____ M Per _____
Special Agent in Charge

Utmost caution must be exercised with respect to dissemination of the information herein, since, by its nature, said information tends to identify NY 694-S*, a valuable informant, as the source thereof. Unless this information is obtained from a source other than NY 694-S*, it should not be incorporated - even in paraphrased form - in the investigative section of a report.

819

O 810 O

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-423091) 8/8/61

SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SOLO
IS-C

ReBulet, 8/4/61.

On 8/7/61, NY 694-S* was contacted by SAS ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON and GEORGE EDWIN JONES and was interviewed along the lines as requested in reBulet.

NY 694-S* advised that he has no knowledge of the Communist Party, USA ever having received financial assistance through the Communist Party of Mexico. He also advised that he has no knowledge of Poland ever providing financial assistance to the CP, USA.

Informant was of the opinion, in regard to above matter, that if financial assistance was provided to the CP, USA from above sources, he would have had knowledge of same because of his long association with the CP, USA reserve fund operation.

2 - Bureau (100-423091) (RM)
1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B) (RM)
1 - NY 134-91 (INV) (41)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

GEJ:mml
(5)

134-91-2685

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SERIALIZED ____ FILED ____
AUG 9 1961
FBI — NEW YORK
Burlinson ACB

cwm

8/8/61

ENCODE

TELETYPE URGENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-69)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641)

CPUSA DASH ORGANIZATION; IS DASH C. OFFICE OF ORIGIN NEW YORK. NEW YORK SIX NINE FOUR DASH S ASTERICK WAS ADVISED BY GUS HALL, GENERAL SECRETARY, CPUSA, ON EIGHT EIGHT INSTANT THAT THE WEEK END MEETING OF AUGUST TWELVE AND THIRTEEN NEXT WILL BE A NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEETING RATHER THAN A NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEETING. THE NEW YORK OFFICE WILL EFFECT COMPLETE COVERAGE AND DAILY TELETYPE SUMMARIES WILL BE SUBMITTED.

1 - NY 134-91 (INV.)(41)
1 - NY 100-80641 (415)
1 - Sup. 415
JJK:KJD
(3)

64-91-2684
SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
FBI — New York

8/9

8/12

8/8/61

AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO
IS-C
(CO:NY)

ReNYairtel, 7/27/61, captioned as above, reflecting on page 4, paragraph 4 thereof, that, in accordance with instructions from VLADIMIR BARKOVSKY, NY 694-S*, at their next meeting, is to give BARKOVSKY a private address where mail can be sent to the informant.

On 8/7/61, in discussing with SA ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON the necessity of obtaining, for mailing purposes, the private address mentioned above, NY 694-S* stated that he anticipated being contacted within a few days by BARKOVSKY, who was to give him codes and cyphers, and secret writing material, with which the informant is to work in the future.

NY 694-S* further stated that since he cannot, for security reasons, use such materials as mentioned above, in his home or office, it would be necessary that he obtain an apartment in the mid-Manhattan area, where he can work in secret, and with full security, with the aforesaid material. He noted that he could meet BARKOVSKY in such an apartment, and that CG 5824-S* also could use the apartment for contacts in NYC. He also mentioned that the apartment could serve as the mail drop which BARKOVSKY has requested.

3 - Bureau (100-428091) (RM)
1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B) (INFO)(RM)
1 - NY 134-91 (Inv.) (41)
1 - NY 65-15025 (VLADIMIR BARKOVSKY) (34)
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

134-91-2687

ACB:EMG
(8)

SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
AUG 9 1961
FBI — NEW YORK
Burkinson ACB

NY 694-S* was asked whether he could request the Soviets to pay for such an apartment, inasmuch as the work which the informant will do in the apartment would be for the benefit of the Soviets. NY 694-S* advised that to ask the Soviets to pay for the apartment would jeopardize his relations with them; that the Soviets do not feel it necessary to become involved in administrative details of an operation of this character, and would expect him, as an ostensibly affluant businessman, to handle such details without their assistance.

NY 694-S* was instructed to furnish the NYO with all pertinent details regarding the type of apartment needed--whether furnished or unfurnished--and the size and location thereof. He was further advised that upon receipt of such info, the NYO would submit the same to the Bureau for approval.

For info.

8/10

8/8/61

AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-262352)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-57368)

SUBJECT: DR. VALENTINE GREGORY BURTAN
SM-C

ReNY airtel, 8/3/61, captioned as above.

On 8/8/61, NY 694-S* advised that on 8/7/61, he contacted IRVING POTASH to ascertain whether the later had as yet prepared for the informant the interpretation of BURTAN's letters from Africa. POTASH replied that as yet he had not completed the interpretation of the said letters, but that he would do so as soon as possible.

POTASH said that on 8/6/61, he had discussed with GUS HALL, BURTAN's letter dated 7/28/61, postmarked London. (Said letter is set out in referenced airtel.) HALL expressed the opinion that BURTAN should return to the U.S.A. as soon as possible to make a report of his African trip, and to advise whether he intends to return to Africa or to go to Cuba.

4 - Bureau (100-262352) (RM)
1-(100-3-81) (CPUSA - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)
2 - Chicago (100-14512) (DR. VALENTINE GREGORY BURTAN)(INFO)(RM)
1-(134-46) (CS 5824-S*) (INFO)
1 - NY 134-91 (INV) (41)
1 - NY 100-48033 (IRVING POTASH) (415)
1 - NY 100-25904 (J. LOVESTONE) (31)
1 - NY 105-6808 (KOHANNA WILES) (424)
1 - NY 100-57368 (424)

ACB:mml
(13)
1 - Supervisor #424
1 - Supervisor #41

134-91-2688

SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
AUG 8 1961
FBI - NEW YORK
ACB

NY 100-157303

HALL further expressed the opinion that in the event [redacted] should decide to return to Africa, he should confer directly with the Soviets in Moscow -- or with Soviet representatives in the U.S.A. -- regarding his future plans. HALL's opinion was that the CPUSA alone should not assume responsibility for [redacted]'s activities in Africa.

POTASH further stated that after conferring with HALL regarding this matter, he telephonically contacted [redacted] in London, and instructed the latter to return to the U.S.A. POTASH expressed the opinion that [redacted] would return in a few days.

Referring to [redacted]'s letter of 7/20/51, mentioned above, particularly to mention therein of a clinic in Kenya, POTASH expressed the opinion that [redacted] should, and could, raise the $15,000 or $20,000 needed for the clinic without the assistance of the CPUSA.

In view of the nature of the above information, a lettershead memorandum is now being submitted to the Bureau.

5110

SAC (100-27452) (#415) 8/9/61

SA GEORGE EDWIN JONES, #41

ROBERT GEORGE THOMPSON,
SM-C

On 8/9/61, NY 694-S* advised SA GEORGE EDWIN JONES as follows:

On 8/9/61, NY 694-S* was in contact with captioned subject at which time THOMPSON advised that starting this Saturday (8/12/61) he is going on a 2 weeks vacation with SYLVIA HALL. THOMPSON stated that he is to take his vacation at BRIEHL'S FARM (near Wallkill, N. Y.).

1 - 100-100351 (#424) (SYLVIA HALL)
1 - 134-91 Inv. (#41)

GEJ:DJG
(3)

134-91-2689

SEARCHED ... INDEXED ...
SERIALIZED ... FILED ...
AUG 9 1961
FBI — NEW YORK

O 210

SAC (100-74560) (#415) 8/9/61

SA GEORGE EDWIN JONES, #41

CP, USA - FUNDS;
IS-C

ReNYairtel to Director 8/2/61, containing dual caption, "CP, USA-FUNDS" and "CP, USA COUNTERINTELLIGENCE PROGRAM", which reflected that NY 694-S* furnished to SA ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON, 8/2/61, $15,000.00 in $20 bills.

This is to record that on 8/9/61, SA GEORGE EDWIN JONES returned this money to the informant.

Extreme caution should be exercised with respect to dissemination of the information herein obtained from NY 694-S* since, by its nature, said information tends to identify NY 694-S* as the source thereof. Under no circumstances should this information be incorporated - even in paraphrased form - in the investigative section of a report.

1 - 100-128861 (CPUSA RESERVE FUND) (#415)
1 - 134-91 Inv. (#41)

GEJ:DJG
(3)

134-91-2690

SEARCHED ..... INDEXED .....
SERIALIZED ..... FILED .....
AUG 9 1961
FBI — NEW YORK
BURLINSON 105

8/11/61

AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-423091)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: COLO
IS - C
(OO: NY)

On 8/11/61, NY 694-C* advised SA ALEXANDER C. PURINTON as follows:

Shortly after noon on 8/11/61, VLADIMIR PANKOVSKY came to the informant's office, and without saying a word, deposited on NY 694-C*' desk the secret writing material and the codes and ciphers concerning which the Bureau previously has been advised. He indicated by pointing at a calendar that he would contact NY 694-C* at 7:00 p.m. on Tuesday, 1/15/61, at the Tomahawk Restaurant in Queens.

PANKOVSKY, before leaving, handed NY 694-C* a coded message for GUS HALL, the interpretation of which is as follows:

"The CPSU deeply respects and trusts the National Committee, headed by GUS HALL, and is ready to provide any assistance to the National Committee in its activity aimed at consolidating the CP,USA ranks on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles, and the National Committee's struggle for better life of the U.S. working class and the toiling masses. He would like to see HALL in the Soviet Union at any time he may choose to visit the Soiet Union in order to exchange views on

3 - Bureau (100-423091) (RM)
1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B) (COLO)(MISC)(RM)
2 - NY 134-91 (Inv.) (41)
1 - NY 65-15026 (VLADIMIR PANKOVSKY) (34) 134-91-2691
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

ACD:DMC
(8)

SEARCHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
AUG 11 1961
FBI — NEW YORK

problems of mutual interest, and that he might get some rest, and acquaint himself with life in the Soviet Union.

"As to the request of the National Committee, to discuss with PAUL ROBESON, PAUL ROBESON, Jr.'s behaviour, it should be taken into account that we did not have any talks with him on CP,USA subjects, being unaware of his role in CP,USA affairs. He feels much better now. However, it would still be harmful to discuss serious matters with him. Should the opportunity arise to talk to him on any subject, we would like to receive from you advice as to the desirable angle from which to discuss CP,USA affairs with ROBESON, and what exactly should be conveyed to him about PAUL ROBESON, Jr.'s behaviour.

"A translated copy of the Party program of the CPSU has been sent to the Washington Embassy and also was given to SAM DAVIS, who left Moscow on August 1st, 1961.

"The Central Committee invites WINSTON and family to come to Moscow for a rest and a cure. He will be provided with all the necessary accomodations and care in the Soviet Union as long as he wishes to stay."

The Bureau will be advised of the results of NY 694-S*'s contact with BANKOVSKY on 8/15/61.

SAC, NEW YORK (134-5739) 8/11/61

SA ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON (#41)

[redacted]

On 8/10/61, NY 694-S* advised that on the evening of 8/9/61, he met [redacted] at a bar in the Wall Street area. [redacted] at this time, delivered to NY 694-S* a document containing [redacted] answers to certain economic questions submitted to [redacted] by GUS HALL through NY 694-S*.

According to NY 694-S*, his meeting with [redacted] was cordial, and their conversation was general in nature, with some discussion of the stock market. They agreed to meet again but set no definite date for their next meeting.

NY 694-S* will deliver to GUS HALL the above-mentioned document.

b6
b7C
b7D

1 - NY 134-91 (Inv.) (41)
1 - [redacted]

ACB:gmg
(2)

134-91-2492

ATTACHED INDEXED
SERIALIZED FILED
AUG 11 1961
FBI

August 6, 1961

Dear S.

We have heard a detailed report of the recent Teamsters convention, but we have not yet defined fully our basic estimate and policy. We intend to do that within a few days on the basis of a draft policy statement which two of us are working on. At this time, therefore I can give you only the rough outlines of our thinking.

First, some signigicant features of the convention.

1) Harryx, with whose political pigmentation the convention was familiar, was given the most prominent spot as a guest speaker and also quite an ovation. It was also very significant that Lloyed, Pres. of Butcher's union, and Joe Curran of N.M.U. came as guest speakers in open defiance of Meany.

2) With the exception of a speech of a Congressman, there was no red baiting whatsoever. However, at the last moment, almost like an afterthought, the convention reenacted the old anti-Communist constitutional provision without any discussion. In committee they did have some doubts about reenacting it.

3) Did not adopt any resolution on foreign policy. Under the circumstances, that may be considered a plus.

4) Set up machinery for effective independent political action.

5) Established the IBT as a "new organizing center"; assumed jurisdiction in every industry where the union is not engaged in effective organization. Decided to launch an all-out organization drive, wherever possible on the basis of alliances with other unions. Organization drive in the South. Continue policy of mutual assistence pacts with other unions.

6) Raising Hoffa's salary to $75,000 was an expression of the only way they knew how to show appreciation to Hoffa.

Estimate

Despite many manifestations of backwardness, the convention was of historic importance. Hoffa has chosen the path of Lewis of the 30s - the good and the bad. He is immature and illiterate, but also dynamic and ambitious in his eagerness to organize. He is prepared to use fresh, militant forces in organization. With all their shortcomings and backwardness, Hoffa and the Teamsters can ~~play~~ move the trade union movement in a progressive direction. We want to encourage that and help and participate, if possible.

At this time, it is not clear whether the movement is going in the direction of a new federation. With the existing sharp divisions in the AFL-CIO, this is possible. Such a development does not necessarily have to result in a weakening of the trade union movement. Aggresive organizing steps by the Teamsters would further sharpen the differences in the AFL-CIO.

The U.S. State Department is making efforts to bring the Teamsters back into the fold and under Meany's control. They fear the results of Hoffa's efforts and alliances.

We intend, as you can see, to make an objective estimate of the role of Hoffa and the Teamsters irrespective of the character of Hoffa and the union. While the situation is not entirely parallel, we intend to apply as much as possible the lessons of the 30s.

This should give you some idea of our thinking. As soon as we adopt a more definitive and collective estimate and policy, it will be forwarded to you immediately. All of us are interested in your thinking and reactions to the above.

Searched
Serialized
Indexed
Filed

SL-91-2693

8/16

8/11/61

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-89)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-89590) (#415)

SUBJECT: CPUSA - STRATEGY IN INDUSTRY; IS-C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 4 Photostats of a letter written by IRVING POTASH, CPUSA Labor Secretary, and given by POTASH to NY 694-S* for transmittal to WILLIAM KASHTAN, Labor Secretary of the Canadian CP. NY 694-S* made the original letter available to SA ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON on 8/10/61.

The letter advises KASHTAN of some significant features of the convention, held in Miami, Florida, in early July, 1961, of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Chauffeurs, Warehousemen, and Helpers of America.

The letter reflects that the CPUSA as yet has "not yet defined fully our basic estimate of policy" with regard to the aforesaid convention, but that within a few days a draft policy statement reflecting the CPUSA's views on the convention would be prepared.

The letter further reflects that at the moment POTASH's reaction to the convention is that despite their shortcomings and backwardness, JAMES HOFFA and the Teamsters can move the trade union movement in a progressive direction, and that the CPUSA desires "to encourage that, and help and participate, if possible."

5 - BUREAU (100-3-89) (4 Encls.) (RM)
(1 - 62-21381 IRVING POTASH)
(1 - 100-434032 COMINFIL PROPOSED ALLIANCE OF IND UNIONS)
2 - WASHINGTON FIELD (2 ENCLS.) (RM)
(1 - 100- COMINFIL, IDT)
(1 - 100- JAMES HOFFA)
1 - SAN FRANCISCO (1 ENCL.) (RM)
(1 - 100- HARRY BRIDGES)
4 - NEW YORK (100-89590) (#415)
(1 - 100-43033 IRVING POTASH) (#415)
(1 - 100-142991 COMINFIL PROPOSED ALLIANCE OF IND UNIONS) (#413)
(1 - 134-91 Inv.) (NY 694-S*) (#41)

ACB:DJQ
(13)

SEARCHED ___ INDEXED ___
SERIALIZED ___ FILED ___
AUG 11 1961
FBI — NEW YORK

134-91-2694

The informant advised that, according to POTASH, his note to KASHEAN incorporates observations of GUS HALL who secretly conferred recently on the West Coast with HARRY BRIDGES.

A letterhead memorandum is not being submitted at this time in view of the fact that the information herein as yet is not the official CP evaluation of the Teamsters Convention, and that an official evaluation will be prepared in the immediate future, which can be the subject of a letterhead memorandum.

Utmost caution must be exercised with respect to dissemination of the information herein, since, by its nature, said information tends to identify NY [illegible], a valuable informant, as the source thereof. Unless this information is obtained from a source other than NY [illegible], it should not be incorporated - even in paraphrased form - in the investigative section of a report.

O 41L O

SAC, NEW YORK (100-80641) 8/14/61

SA ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON (#41)

CPUSA - ORGANIZATION
IS-C

Extreme caution must be exercised with respect to dissemination of the information herein since, by its nature, said information tends to identify NY 694-S*, a valuable informant, as the source thereof. Unless this information is obtained from a source other than NY 694-S*, it should not be incorporated - even in paraphrased form - in the investigative section of a report.

On 8/11/61, NY 694-S* advised that from a source identified in the case entitled, "SOLO; IS-C," he obtained the following information which he was to transmit to GUS HALL, CPUSA General Secretary:

The ~~CPUSA~~ CPSU deeply respects and trusts the CPUSA National Committee, headed by GUS HALL, and is ready to provide any assistance to the said National Committee in its activities aimed at consolidating the CPUSA ranks on the basis of Marxist-Lenin principles and the National Committee's struggle for better life of the United States working class and the toiling masses. The CPSU would like to see HALL in the Soviet Union at anytime he may choose to visit the Soviet Union in order to exchange views on problems of mutual interest and in order that HALL might get some rest and acquaint himself with life in the Soviet Union.

With regard to a request from the CPUSA National Committee that PAUL ROBESON, JR.'s behavior be discussed with PAUL ROBESON, SR., it should be noted that the CPSU did not have any talks with ROBESON, SR. on CPUSA subjects, being unaware of the latter's role in CPUSA affairs.

1 - NY 134-91 (INV) (41)
1 - NY 100-84994 (GUS HALL) (415)
1 - NY 100-25857 (PAUL ROBESON, SR.) (425)
1 - NY 100-95550 (PAUL ROBESON, JR.) (414)
1 - NY 100-269 (HENRY WINSTON) (415)
1 - NY 100-80641 (415)

100-41-2695

ACB:mml
((6)

ROBESON, SR. feels much better now. However, it would still be harmful to discuss serious matters with him. Should the opportunity arise to talk to him on any subject, the CPSU would like to receive from the CPUSA advice as to the desirable angle from which to discuss CPUSA affairs with ROBESON, SR., and what exactly should be conveyed to him about PAUL ROBESON, JR.'s behavior.

A translated copy of the CPSU program has been sent to the Washington Embassy and a copy also was given SAM DAVIS, who left Moscow on 8/1/61.

The CCCPSU has invited HENRY WINSTON and his family to come to Moscow for a rest and cure. If he could go, he would be provided with all the necessary accommodations and care in the Soviet Union for as long a period as he desires to stay.

CONFÉDÉRATION INTERNATIONALE DES SYNDICATS LIBRES

BULLETIN D'INFORMATION

PRÉSIDENT : A. Geijer
SECRÉTAIRE GÉNÉRAL : O. Becu
SIÈGE CENTRAL : 24, rue du Lombard, Bruxelles, Belgique
TÉLÉPHONE : 11.53.45
TÉLÉGRAMMES : INTERCONFED BRUXELLES

BIMENSUEL - REPRODUCTION AUTORISÉE - PRIÈRE DE MENTIONNER LA SOURCE

Le *Bulletin d'Information* de la C. I. S. L. publie des nouvelles brèves pouvant intéresser le mouvement syndical libre. Tout en prenant soin de donner des informations de source autorisée, la C. I. S. L. n'engage sa responsabilité que pour les nouvelles concernant ses propres activités. Les autres articles paraissant dans ce Bulletin n'expriment pas nécessairement l'opinion de la C. I. S. L.

Abonnement annuel : 17,75 N francs français , 180 francs belges, ou l'équivalent en d'autres monnaies.

(E)

2 August 61.

Dear Val:- <ourfriend

Thanks for your note of 25 July. It came after I left for Muenchen on my new motorcycle which, incidentally, is a whiz as it has automatic clutch and, better for the public, a real silencer. And it goes like the Hell!

First, your shirt goes out today by seamail.

Second, the boois went off the day after you left and must be in Kenya by now. As the Labour Attache has special privileges, I suggest that you write Chalfin and ask him to send them on to you -- probably through the pouch. It is a pity that they took so long.

I was in Aachen a few weeks ago; but the last weekend in Muenchenm, was out of this world. It is now Wedneseay noon and I am still absolutely E X H A U S T E D... My God!

I wrote toEddie some weeks ago, but so far no reply. I am sure that he is very busy; but now that you write his wife is en route, then I imagine he has no time for anything but that big deal. Lucky guy!

I'm off to Paris tomorrow afternoon to see folks in the US Embassy there... The Dakar Conference, I hear, has been postponed and will probably never be held. The modus operandi inAfrica now followed simply doesn't work -- and things continue to get worse and even worster than worse, if that be possible.

Not much to write about here. Seou is out of bed, finally, but how long he has before the next collapse remains to be seen. I am told that his nervous condition is now mending as it should... Write on return.Best wishes.

dick

Arne GEIJER
General Secretary
[redacted]
O.Becu
(to whom all communications should be addressed)

INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF FREE TRADE UNIONS

Telephone
11 53 45 - 11 96 15 - 11 08 2
Telegrams
INTERCONFED. BRUSSEL
Bankers
BANQUE DE BRUXELLES
Agence Lombard Acc 5779

Our ref OR/mdt

Your ref

24, rue du Lombard,
Brussels-1, (Belgium)

8 August 1961

Dr. V. G. Burtan
218 West 40 Street
NEW YORK, N.Y

Dear Dr. Burtan,

It is a pleasure to have had your contribution to the study of establishing medical clinics in Kenya and Tanganyika for the care of workers and their families.

We hope this will be supplemented soon by actually establishing such clinics.

Sincerely yours,

S. Nedzynski
Assistant General Secretary

KENYA FEDERATION OF LABOUR

(Affiliated to International Confederation of Free Trade Union)

All correspondences to be addressed to the General Secretary

President P. MUINDE
General Secretary. TOM J MBOYA
Treasurer. JAMES KAREBE
Deputy General Secretary: C. K LUBEMBE

Telephone. 21838 & 21911
Cable: "Intconfed Nairobi

Solidarity Building
Digo Road
P. O Box 13026
NAIROBI, Kenya

Our Ref..... ....

Your Ref. ....

DATE 19th July, 1961.

Mr. V.G. Burtan,
International Ladies Garment Workers' Union,
Dress Joint Board,
218, West 40 Street,
NEW YORK CITY.

Dear Mr. Burtan,

The Executive Committee of the Kenya Federation of Labour wishes to thank you for coming to Kenya to participate in a study of medical status and needs of the members of this Federation.

Your advice in regard to establishing of a dispensary and clinic primarily for the care of our members and their families was helpful and we hope will lead to its consummation within the near future. We started to think of this matter long time ago and we have found it necessary to ask for your assistance in the matter.

Yours sincerely,

CKL/gdd.

CLEMENT K. LUBEMBE,
DEPUTY GENERAL SECRETARY.

(I)

KENYA FEDERATION OF LABOUR.

PRESS RELEASE:

At its meeting on Saturday 8th July,1961, the General Council of the K.F.L. received a full report of the Casablanca Conference.and resolved as follows:-

This General Council of the K.F.L. having received a full report of the recent Casablanca A.A.T.U.F. Conference and some of the subsequent events and statements since then being,

1. Gravely concerned that the invitations to the Conference were not properly and impartially handled in that many bona fide trade unions did not receive invitations and some were in fact left out. Further that some non-existent or unrepresentative unions or faked union leaders were invited to pack the conference deliberately for the purpose of using them to lend support to certain groups at the conference.

2. Concerned that the conference arrangements and control by the chair were not such as to permit for proper, free and democratic running of the conference.

3. Concerned that no agreement was reached on the structure and constitution of A.A.T.U.F. making it impossible to establish the A.A.T.U.F. and carry out proper and democratic elections.

4. Concerned at the unfortunate and threatening language used and statements made by some leading trade union leaders of some independent states even to the point of threatening to wreck trade unions in other African countries, cause chaos and thus even threaten the economic policies and programmes of sister African states and deliberately attempt to widen the rift among the African unions and countries instead of promoting unity.

CONSIDERS:

1. That another conference whose preparatory committee is better selected and more representative, better organised and held in a free atmosphere with all bona fide unions being invited and allowed to take their rightfull and full part should be called as soon as possible.

2. That the document prepared by Bro' Seddik on " Doctrine and Orientation be accepted as the basis for trade union development in Africa.

3. That African national centres must be recognised as independent and autonomous organisations, and condemns any external interference in the affairs of any sister African state except with mutual consent and co-operation.

4. That African unity in the labour and political fields are essential to African independent and economic reconstruction and the warding off of neo-colonialism and the cold-war.

5. That this unity must be based on respect and recognition of the genuine interest and problems of each other and African in general.

6. That both the Eastern and the Western blocks have selfish and imperialist motives in Africa.

AGREES:

That international affiliation could, unless it is constantly and vigilantly watched, constitute a danger to national independence but feels that the decision to affiliate or not to affiliate must be a decision of each national centre consistent with the exercise of its autonomy, and response to the future policy of its independent state when the time comes.

RESOLVES: That all trade union centres should once again consult together with a view to convening another conference aiming at securing maximum agreement and paving the way to unity for Africa. We hope that true African independent unions will support the contents of this resolution and implement the same at the earliest possible date. The K.F.L. is willing and will be ready to attend any conferences properly organized and constituted to help establish the A.A.T.U.F. and bring about sound and genuine unity.

Clement K.Lubembo,
DEPUTY GENERAL SECRETARY.

President
Arne GEIJER
General Secretary
O. Becu
(to whom all communications should be addressed)

INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF FREE TRADE UNIONS

Telephone
Telegrams
INTERCONFED
Bankers
Agence Le

Our ref OR/mdt

Your ref

24, rue du Lombard,
Brussels-1 (Belgium)

8 August 1961

Dr. V. G. Burtan
218 West 40 Street
NEW YORK, N.Y

Dear Dr. Burtan,

Your report on the medical needs of workers and their families in Kenya and Tanganyika has been given careful consideration.

The establishment of such clinics would not only serve in some measure the medical needs of workers, but is recognised as a great contribution for building unions and holding members. It need hardly be emphasised that trade unions in Africa should expand the area in which they are able to render practical services to their members in order to play an ever-important role as a leading force for social progress in their countries. The dire need for medical services points to them as one of the most appropriate and important fields in which to establish practical systems of servicing union members.

It is recognised that unfortunately the African trade unions could not at present finance such programmes and that they would have to be helped financially by their more fortunate sister organisations in other continents. Funds spent in this way would be well invested in terms of returns not only in care for human beings but also as a contribution to the stabilisation of labour organisations.

Finally, this type of work would be of pioneering character and could stimulate general interest in such programmes and lead to the development of a new approach to these problems also by the ICFTU.

With fraternal greetings and every good wish.

Fraternally and sincerely,

S. Nedzynski
Assistant General Secretary

8/15/61

AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-262352)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-57368)

SUBJECT: DR. VALENTINE GREGORY BURTAN
SM-C
(OO: NY)

Utmost caution must be exercised with respect to dissemination of the information herein since, by its nature, it tends to identify NY 654-S*, a valuable informant, as the source thereof. This information should not be included in the investigative section of a report, and should be utilized for lead purposes only.

On 8/15/61, NY 654-S* made available to SA ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON the following material:

(1) Letter dated 8/3/61, on ICFTU stationery.
(2) Letter dated 7/19/61, on stationery of Kenya Federation of Labour.
(3) Two paragraph letter dated 8/3/61, on ICFTU stationery.
(4) Press release captioned, "Kenya Federation of Labour."
(5) Letter dated 8/2/61, addressed, "Dear Val," reverse side - blank paper entitled, "Bulletin D'Information."

4 - Bureau (100-262352) (Encls. 10) (RM)
1-(100-3-81) (CPUSA - INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS)
1 - NY (100-48033) (IRVING POTASH) (415)
1 - NY (134-91) (INV) (5 Attachments) (41)
1 - NY (100-57368) (5 Attachments) (424)

134-91-270V

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1 - Supervisor #41

NY 100-57333

Two Photostats of above five documents are enclosed herewith for the Bureau.

Above material, which were communications addressed to captioned subject, was furnished to NY 694-S* by IRVING POTASH on 8/15/51, who in turn received same from Dr. DUNCAN.

Informant advised that he has no further information regarding the material other than the information contained in the material itself.

Inasmuch as dissemination of the information herein would jeopardize the security of the informant, a letterhead memorandum is not being submitted to the Bureau.

August 7, 1961

Airtel

To: SAC, New York (100-57368

From: Director, FBI (100-262352)

DR. VALENTINE GREGORY BURTAN
SECURITY MATTER - C

Reurairtel 8/3/61.

Determine identity of Joe and John. Advise promptly of Potash's comments concerning significance of letter and subject's plans for future. If the subject returns to the United States, verify through sources other than NY 694-S* and submit letterhead memorandum.

Covered see memo as above 8/17/61

Original to Serial 261 of 100-57368 Burtan

134-91 (INV) - 2702 A

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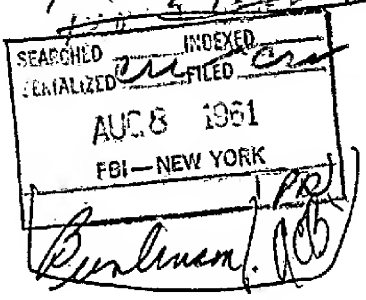
AUG 8 1961
FBI—NEW YORK
Burtman



August 13, 1961

Report on Our Friend's Observations Based on His Conversations With Various People in Africa Connected With The ICFTU
Report is taken from letters from our friend, dated 7/11/61 - 7/15/61 - 7/16/61

In Tanganyika: Met Kamaliza, President of Tanganyika Federation of Labor together with C.P. Kapunga, former Secretary-Treasurer of same federation and now elected Educational Director. Both agree Nereira is definitely with ICFTU, and being a friend of Kenyata, he will have "good" influence on him when he returns free. They believe that even if Kenyata should turn against ICFTU, they would not lose Tanganyika. Kamaliza lauged because Ghana paid for two Tanganyika representatives to Casablanca who were really against Ghana.

The line up in Tanganyika is as follows: Those unions in favor of All African Union autonomy but also affiliation with ICFTU - Plantation Workers (Mkello), Domestic Workers, Customs Workers, Dock Workers (Dimani), Dares Salaam Dock Workers (N. Gabyoma), Transport and General Workers (P. Kisumo).

Those in opposition together with Tumbo of Railroad Union - Rail Workers, Local Government Workers, Port and Telegraph Workers, Mine Workers, Public Employees.

In Nairoby, Kenya:

Met with Tom Mboya and with S. Chalfin, U.S.A. Labor Attache who sees Mboya regularly. Chalfin said: No one knows how Kenyata will turn out. Nereira is not too certain for West. He is very careful about seeing Mboya bacause it would expose him. He is therefore glad that AFL officils are acting for him. Thinks that Ochwada of Construction Workers who split his union away from Mboya can now be influenced to return, because he has very little money.

Talked with J. Karoby, President Local Government Workers Union. Worried because no more than 20% of workers in all unions are paying dues. All of Nairobi has about 20,000 dues paying members. Said that he and Mboya would like to see Dakar conference split the federation in order to crush those opposed to ICFTU. Believes that after independence policies of governments will be important for West and that their control of the unions would assure a pro-West position. They are planning to demand that Regional Federation Headquarters be moved fron Negeria further East and that Mboya should become head. Will also try to move All African Federatin to Kenya

Opinion in Kenya is that what hurts Mboya most isthe charge that he is in pay of U.S. State Department through the AFL. U.S. Labor Attache and Edward Welsh believe that Irving Brown has done harm in many ways because he has used much money to bribe people. Several months ago, Brown and Clavier had to rush to Tanganyika to save them from suits for non payment of debts. They cabled Meany for money and received 2000 pounds to clear up debts. Uganda union heads are demanding from Edward Welsh money for subsidies and automobiles. He now has a total demand for 11 cars, and everyone wants a trip to the U.S. Welsh and Clavier believe that African union leaders can be bought, but that they don't want to be in cold war nor to be told what to do.

Clavie lines up the forces as follows: Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Arabs, Morocco, Zenzibar, Siera Lion, Uganda and Sudan a bit shaky. Edward Welsh was asked to go to Sudan by Chalfin to help win them.

Chalfin communicated with Washington for them to obtain AFL instructions for Welsh to go to Sudan.

Kenya Federation of Labor officials asked our friend to become the head of their medical clinic in Nairobi, They asked our friend to go back to the U.S.A. and to obtain 20,000 dollars from AFL-CIO unions for such a clinic. They gave him letters to several unions where he should make an appeal in their behalf. Our friend agreed to return to the U.S. with this mission. He left Africa 7/16.

He stopped in Brussels and had conversations with Stefan Nedzynski, Becu's assistent, and with Dick Deverall of the IFCTU.

Stefan Nedzynski:

The failure of the Dakar conference was a calamity for the ICFTU IFTCU. Claim that Senegal, which agreed to call the conference as a cover for the ICFTU, backed out for some reason and that's why the conference collapsed although a number of union head arrived in Dakar. The ICFTU spent a great deal of money for nothing. ~~Tehre~~ There is great gloom and pessimism in the ICFTU office. Everyone claims that "the Russians are winning Africa". He complains that Irving Brown's tactics of bribing everybody has failed, and that there is a need to build from the grass roots. (Stefan Nedzynski aspires to succeed Becu as head of the ICFTU. He claims that Becu is sick and pessimistic and that he had a nervous breakdown and now drinks). He thinks that Sudan has influenced Senegal to betray them.

He claims that program of bringing Trade Union students to the U.S. is failing because selection od students is based on favoratism and nepotism, and because the Negro students encounter racism in the U.S.A. Favors AFL-CIO building and supporting schools in Africa.

Efforts will be made to get Senegal to call another conference in Dakar in September. U.S State Department is to arrange for Edward Welsh to go for two months to Kenya, Zenzibar and Sudan.

Stefan has outlined following schedule of conferences:
August 21 - Inter-American Regional Org. Open in Brazilia then go to Rio for working sessions. Becu is supposed to attend and then go to Saigon for Executive Board of Asian Regional conference to take place September 21.
September 1 to 6 - East and South African Regional Org. conference in Nairobi. Stefan will go there. Tom Mboya may be pressed to become chairmanof that Region.
September 18 to 19 - Solidarity Fund Committee will meet in Brussels. Meany to attend.
October 16,20 - Executive Board ICFTU in Brussels
September - Another possible conference in Dakar
November - Probably African Regional Executive Board in Lagos
Economic Conference in Sao Paolo in August before August 21st Inter-American Region meeting.

Dick Deverall:

Jay Crane, an American student, was sent in the WFTU to work as a spy for Victor Reuther. He was recommended by Eleonor Cope, who used to work for the WFTU and then for the ICFTU.

James Carry, President International Union of Electrical Workers U.S.A. openly attacked Brown at a recent meeting of the ICFTU Executive because Brown undertook to report for the U.S. in place of Carry.

Speculations in ICFTU that Meany is going to lose his Presidency of the AFL-CIO in the coming convention. The plan is to [illegible] and then retire him a few months later and that

Joseph Bierne, President of the IFL-CIO Communication Workers Union will be elected in Meany's place.

Das, a U.S. Government agent was designated by Jay Lovestone as the AFL-CIO representative on the AFL News in India.

Gottfrisch and Brandler both of whom worked in the Bonn government are going to work for the ICFTU. Tulatz, formerly in the Bonn government service, now Educational Director of the ICFTU. He used to sign receipts for the financing by Bonn of a Socialist Trade Union operation in Africa for the German government.

Accountants have informed the ICFTU that it is overrunning its budget - spending $3,000,000 a year. (Becu was bought a Jaguar car for $8,000.) Labor paper in India cost $250,000 a year.

Our friend met the following people in Africa:

Odero Jowi - Principal of Kompolo Labor College
Okipinga - Sec. Uganda Labor Federation
W.B.B. Tugbeh - Pres. Seafarers and Dock Workers Union of Liberia
Morris Mulina - Pres. Electric Power Workers Union and member Executive Board Kenya Fed. of Labor
Maynard Pangola - Secr. Plantation Workers and Ex. Board Kenya F.ofL
Philip Muinde - Pres. Kenya Fed. of Labor
Walter Ottenyo - Ex. Board Kenya Fed. of Labor
Opdo Owiti - Secr. Sicil Plantation Union and Ex. Board Kenya Fed.
Peter Kibisu - Vice Pres. Kenya Fed. of Labor
William Naudu - Gen. Secr. Timber Union and Ex. Board Kenya Fed.
N. Kozimato - Vice Pres. Tanganyika Fed. of Labor
Ghiza Mkandawire - General Workers Union Nyasaland

Our friend is prepared to return to Africa if it is considered useful for him to do so.

He has spent for transportation alone $1100 - to Europe, to Africa and back to Europe and to the U.S. Our friend has not asked for money, but if his trip was useful it would be advisable to compensate him at least for the transportation expenses. He has established important contacts in Europe and in Africa from whom he can obtain very important information. If it is the opinion that the a return to Africa would not be useful, he is planning to go to Cuba as a doctor. Should it be desirable that he return to Africa, he would do so in the capacity of head of the medical clinic of the Kenya Federation of Labor.

8/14/61

PLAIN

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-262352)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-157363)

SUBJECT: DR. VALENTINE GREGORY BURTAN
SECURITY MATTER - C

Utmost caution must be exercised with respect to dissemination of the information herein since by its nature, it tends to identify NY 694-S*, a valuable informant as the source thereof. This information should not be included in the investigative section of a report, and should be utilized for lead purposes only.

NY 694-S* on 8/14/61 made available to SA GEORGE EDWIN JONES an evaluation of the VALENTINE GREGORY BURTAN letters dated July 11th, 15th and 16th, 1961. This evaluation was prepared by IRVING POTASH. Xerox copies are being forwarded herewith to the Bureau and Chicago.

Inasmuch as dissemination of the information herein would jeopardize the security of the informant, a letterhead memorandum is not being submitted to the Bureau.

3 - Bureau	(100-262352)	(Encls. - 3) (RM)
1 - Chicago	(100-14512)	(Encl. - 1) (RM)
1 - New York	(134-91)	(INV.) (41)
1 - New York	(100-48033)	(IRVING POTASH) (415)
1 - New York	(100-157363)	

WGC:mca
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SERIALIZED ____ FILED ____
AUG 14 1961
FBI - NEW YORK